Round about "THE MITRE" at Oxford

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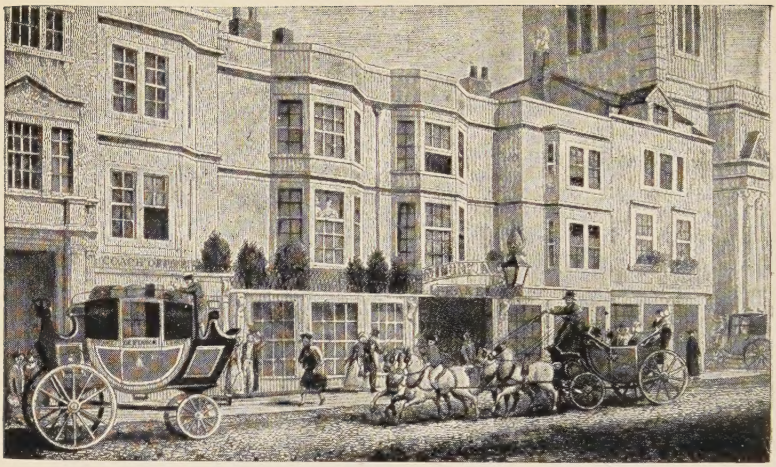

"THE MITRE" INN, OXFORD.

(From an engraving by J. Fisher, showing the "Defiance" Coach which ran between Oxford, Henley and London (c. 1825).

There is in the Bodleian Library a lithograph of about the same date, of Tom Peake, of "The Mitre" Inn, whose name appears over the door of the above illustration.

City and University Guide, 1824:

> "Close to the front of the Market is 'The Mitre' Inn, whence go well-regulated Coaches to all parts of the Kingdom. Chaises are also kept at this Inn."

942.5738

ROUND ABOUT 'THE MITRE' AT OXFORD

(Episodes of the University, City and Hotel)

Compiled by R. A. H. SPIERS.

Guide to Oxford, 1878—J. J. Moore:

"Go, little booke, God send thee good passage;
And specially let this be thy prayer,
Unto them all that thee will reade or heare,
Where thou art wrong, after their helpe to calle
Thee to correct, in any part or all."

—*Chaucer: "Belle Dame sans Mercie.'*

With numerous Illustrations.

PUBLISHED AT "THE MITRE"
HOTEL - - - OXFORD

Second Edition (Revised and Enlarged) 1929

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Round about "The Mitre" at Oxford.

INTRODUCTION.

The University and City of Oxford have always afforded great scope for the publication of numerous handbooks or guides for the use of visitors who spend a few days during the course of the year at the ancient seat of learning. It has not, however, been the intention of the writer that his book should be a guide to Oxford, nor is it confined to a detailed description of the old Hostelry known as "The Mitre." This book is merely a collection of historical episodes connected with the old inn and its immediate neighbourhood, coupled with a number of interesting and brief notes and anecdotes connected with Oxford life, illustrated with reproductions from sketches, photographs and prints from various collections, and containing chapters on the University and City of Oxford from medieval times to the present day.

Since the First Edition of this book the writer has perused most of the well-known books relating to Oxford history, including the volumes of the *Oxford Historical Society's Journals, The Diary of Thomas Hearne,* and *The Life of Anthony à Wood,* the celebrated historians, and numerous others. The former volumes have given many interesting side-lights on Oxford history and the life and times at the old "Mitre," and have also guided him with suggestions of other items which may prove of interest to readers, whilst the lives of Hearne and Wood have afforded interesting notes which have also been incorporated in this work.

Many of these episodes have already been referred to in various publications on "Oxford," and the writer does not claim originality. At the same time, he feels sure that the few interesting episodes of the History of Oxford and the old inn will afford pleasure to a number of the visitors to the City. The intention has, therefore, been to give the information which has been collected in a condensed form, confining attention to the important centre of the City, viz., round about "The Mitre," Carfax, and the neighbouring streets.

There is no doubt that " The Mitre " was in its early days, in the fourteenth century, or possibly earlier, one of the ancient Aulæ (*i.e.*, Halls) or centres of learning which eventually gave rise to the Foundation of the great University. Similar buildings have in some centuries past become absorbed into the present College buildings, with their adjacent gardens and quadrangles, and one can only guess that the fact of this old building not having followed the fate of others is due to its position near to the centre of the City, and in the main and busy street which was in early days crowded with the numerous tenements, stalls and booths required to cater for the increasing population of the City and of the University which was then rapidly rising in Oxford. Even in the days of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there is sufficient evidence from the *Diaries* and from other sources to show that " The Mitre " was a well-known resort for sojourners in the City of Oxford and for those who loved " more solid potations " than could be given at the Coffee houses, which were the common resorts of University men and others of those days.

Several interesting characters of " The Mitre " and its neighbours have been discovered in the search, and new chapters have thus been added which, it is thought, will prove to be of sufficient interest to readers, and give a further insight to local doings in the City and University.

Acknowledgments are again made to the assistance given by the Rev. H. E. Salter, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, who is acknowledged to be the highest authority on the ancient documents and history of the University and City; and advantage has also been taken of Mr. Harry Paintin's kind permission to make use of interesting extracts from his notes, published in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*; whilst thanks are also due to numerous writers of books on Oxford whose works have furnished interesting history and information to the writer.

A great deal more information is probably available from the newspapers and letters of the last century, and the writer welcomes any items of interest which readers may have, and which he would like to incorporate in further volumes if they would care to place such at his disposal, especially if such notes have reference to " The Mitre " or to Oxford coaching times.

R. A. H. Spiers.

" He that hath Oxford seen, for beauty, grace
And healthiness, ne'er saw a better place:
If God Himself on earth abode would make,
He Oxford, sure, would for His dwelling take."

Dan Rogers
(*Clerk to the Council of Queen Elizabeth, c* 1580)

The History of "The Mitre."

In the history of this old inn, the most remarkable point is that it has remained in the hands of the same owners for four hundred years, and that it has not been sold for over six hundred years.

In the year 1230, and in the reign of Henry III, Philip Pady succeeded to a property after the death of his father, John Pady, who had been Mayor of Oxford during the years 1227-9. William de Dunham, Rector of All Saints', appears to have afterwards held this property, as on his decease, about the year 1255, he "left a house in St. Mildred's parish, near the church, which he had of John Pady, a burgess of Oxon."

Anthony à Wood, writing of "The Mitre" in the seventeenth century, states that "This place in King Henry III's raigne belonged to Philip Pady, a burgesse of Oxon. But he letting it to his nephew, William de Seukeswrth (the son of William de Seukeswrth), about the year 1272, for the yearly rent of five marks, (it) came at length from them to other hands, and soe to Lyncoln College, who are the present owners thereof."

Records from *The Hundred Rolls*, a survey of Oxford which was made in 1279, inform us that in the north-east ward of Oxford, and in the parish of All Saints, the Bishop of Lichfield, who was the son of the Earl of Salisbury, had a property (once of Philip Pady) worth £6. 7s. a year, consisting of fourteen small shops. Two or three years later, we learn from a deed at Lincoln College that Roger de Mulent, Bishop of Lichfield, granted to his nephew, who was a "clerk" and was named William, son of William de Seukeworth (*i.e.*, Seacourt), "a corner house on the west side of the Church of All Saints, which was once of Philip Pady."

William de Seukeworth within a short time must have parted with the property to one known as Geoffrey Makkerewel of Ireland, for on July 10th, 1286, this Geoffrey granted to William de Brackley a lease of a hall, six chambers, a stable, a kitchen, and a court, having the lands of Walter the Goldsmith on the west, and the road leading to St. Mildred's Church (a site now occupied by Lincoln College) on the east, at a rent of £4. It is probable that the house was an inn by this time, but it did not cover then, nor for some time, more than a part of the site of the present inn.

(Anthony à Wood states that John le Goldsmyth held a tenement of the Masters of Great University Hall, and " this tenement is the next, saving one, or else the very next on the west side of the Mitre Inne," now probably also occupied by " The Mitre.")

In 1294 Geoffrey Makkerewel sold the property to Philip de Wormenhale for 67 marks, and in 1298 William de Seukeworth surrendered all his rights in it. The property has never been sold since.

Philip de Wormenhale, who was bailiff of the City of Oxford in 1298, and Mayor in 1310, and whose Will is preserved in Lincoln College, died in 1314, leaving his property to be divided between Elianore his wife, Thomas his son, and Margaret his daughter. Elianore then married William de Burchester (Bicester) as her second husband, and as his second or third wife. He was a most prominent man in Oxford, and held the office of Mayor in the years 1311, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1317, 1325, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1333 and 1339. Apparently, Elianore received " The Mitre " as part of her share of the property, and in 1337 Thomas, son of Philip de Wormenhale, renounced to William de Bicester and his wife any right he might have in the house.

(Herbert Hurst (O.H.S.) informs us that Philip of Wormenhall, Oxon, had a lease in 1303 for a messuage called Banerhall, and it is believed that the old building adjoining Trinity Gateway is probably a portion of the original building. In 1329 Thomas de Wormenhale, son of Philip, gives it to Adam de Brom (the Founder of Oriel College) and Richard de Overton, clerks, and later, in 1332, he devised to his clerk, Richard de Overton, " his tenements in the suburbs of Oxon, called le Banerhalle, which he had lately acquired of Philip of Wormenhale.")

John Culverd, Burgess, appears to have had some interest in " The Mitre " property, as we find in a collection of the Wills of the City of Oxford, one executed February 1st, 1333, in which he gave to his executors " two marks rent out of the tenement which was formerly that of Philip de Wormenhale, in the parish of All Saints, Oxford, which tenement William de Burchestre now inhabits." The rent of two marks was probably merely a quit-rent, as John Culverd did not possess the freehold.

In the Will of Richard de Hunsingore, clerk, 1337, we learn that he left " to Master Nicholas, son of William de Burchestre, my seld in the High Street, which I bought of John de Maidenston, next the door of the house of the said William de Burchestre in which he now lives."

The latter property, therefore, came into the hands of the family of Burchestre or Bicester, and formed part of the present site of " The Mitre."

On May 4th, 1341, the Will of William de Bicester, "prudent and mighty," as the old volume puts it, was proved, in which he states:—"I give to my exors., two marks annual rent out of a messuage in Oxford, situated in the parish of All Saints, at the corner, which formerly belonged to Philip de Wormenhale, which rent I lately acquired of the grant and concession of Richard de Hunsyngore, clerk, together with the reversion of the messuage aforesaid, with shops, celars, solars, and other appurtinences adjoining the said messuage, to be sold after the death of Elianore, my wife; which reversion, together with the fee of the said messuage, I lately acquired by the concession and remission of Thomas, son and heir of the said Philip; the money to be applied in the celebration of Masses and other pious uses, for the health of the souls of myself, my wife, my children, my friends and benefactors, as shall seem them good. And I will that, if it may be brought to pass, after the licence of the King has been obtained, a perpetual chantry shall be established with the money at the altar of St. Anne in the Church of All Saints for the souls aforesaid." We know from many sources that a small aisle on the north side of All Saints Church (which collapsed in 1699) was the chapel of St. Anne, and that it was built by William of Bicester, and that he was buried there. The chief executor in the Will was "Master Nicholas," his son.

The Chantry was given to Lincoln College, and the College Muniment Room has much that is of interest about William de Burchestre and "The Mitre" property.

William de Burchestre also owned "two tofts next the churchyard of All Saints, on the north side," for which a quit-claim was paid on February 8th, 1349, of xviiid.

In 1349 Elianore, the widow, died of the Black Death, her Will being made on March 21st, and proved on March 29th. It was now the time for Nicholas de Bicester to sell the property, but before he could do anything he also was carried off, leaving a Will which was made on Ascension Day and proved on May 29th. By this Will he leaves "severall messuages in Oxon for the foundation of a chantry therein, committing the execution thereof to Richard Cary, severall times maior of Oxon, and who had married his sister Alice; but he also dying before he could fulfil his Will, the business was taken in hand by the executors, viz., one John Falle, John Cary his son, and John Langrish, who, it seems, examining how the case stood both from the Wills of Nicholas Burchester and Richard Cary, did in a manner settle it, though not soe fully as the testators themselves did intend." After the death of Nicholas de Bicester they were to be the endowment of two chantries, one in All Saints and one in

St. Martins. It was thus left to his executors to establish the chantries. The King's permission was obtained on November 5th, 1350, but when the Bishop in December issued his regulations he stated that " in these days " (*i.e.*, following the Black Death) the properties were not sufficient to maintain two chaplains, and that the chantry in St. Martin's Church would be given up. The chantry of St. Anne's in All Saints' Church was, however, maintained, and endowed with houses on the east, north and west of the church, of which " The Mitre " was the most valuable property, supplying about one-third of the income of the chantry. (See chapter on " All Saints Church.")

At Lincoln College there are to be seen two leases of " The Mitre " which were granted by the chaplains of the chantry—one in 1360 to John Hertwell, and the other in 1424 to John Walker. In the former the rent is stated as £4. 6s. 8d., and in the latter as £6. 5s. It is also stated in the earlier lease that " The Mitre " was where William de Bicester himself lived.

Anthony à Wood, in his *Annals of the City of Oxford*, 1665-6, mentions that in 1364 this property was known as " Croxford's Inne," and it was " so called from Burgesses of that name in Henry III, Edward I and succeeding reigns." He adds that " Croxford's Inne " was " a very large receptacle for scholleis, sometime in All Saints parish, as appears by the rent that was paid for it and also of a messuage and solars selars demised to severall people in the entry thereof in King Edward Third's raigne." John Croxford is stated to have also owned the " Cross Inne."

Wood informs us also that in 1474 the house became called " Dagville's Inn," this alteration being due to a change of proprietorship, when William Dagville is supposed to have owned the property. This supposition has been supported by the Rev. Andrew Clark, but from recent research by the Rev. H. E. Salter, it is, however, now thought that Wood was in error, and that the property known as " Dagville's Inn " was probably the western portion of " The Mitre," or possibly No. 12 High Street. This may be the case, although for many years the term " Dagville's Inn " has been applied to " The Mitre," and it is therefore thought that a history of this portion of the property, which was acquired by Lincoln College, may be of interest, and we give it briefly :

" William Dagville," or " Dagvyle," of Oxford, gent., by his last Will, dated 1474, gave the College a tenement called " Dagvyle's Inn," in All Saints parish, and other property, " all of which, valued at £6. 13s. 4d. yearly, were to come to them (Lincoln College) after the decease of his wife, Margaret." Dagville became a wealthy man, and in his will

he directed that should his daughter Joan, who married a certain Edmund Gille (Gylle), die without issue, the property would thus be transferred, on condition, however, that the College " keep myn obyt worshipfully," or in other words, continue to say Masses for his soul on the anniversary of his death. William Dagville died on the 29th October, 1476, and his tenements were demised or conveyed to Lincoln College by Margaret Parker, Dagville's widow, who had re-married. This transfer, however, took place in 1488, prior to her death in 1523, and she then leased the properties to the College during her natural life, " conditionally that they pay her the said yearly value of them," viz., " ten marcs," until her death.

William Dagville was a very prominent citizen of Oxford, and held the office of Mayor on six occasions, viz., in 1465, 1466, 1467, 1470, 1472, and in 1474, and the property of his daughter appears to have covered some considerable area and to have consisted of a number of cottages and a " shoppe " on the west, also a " bruehouse on the est side of the saide place (Dadsfield In), with all th' appurtenances."

From that time the chief part of the history of " The Mitre," as can be obtained from College documents, and other sources, is the list of those who were tenants, as recorded in the annual accounts of the College ; but whether they lived at " The Mitre," or merely had the lease of it, is uncertain. (See detailed list of tenants of " The Mitre.") Among these were Alderman Ralph Flexney and William Tilcock (Tylocke). The former was Mayor in 1551, 1552, 1562 and 1567, and M.P. for the City, 1547-1552. He died December 25th, 1578, and was buried in St. Michael's Church, where there is a monumental brass representing him in his aldermanic gown. The latter was a baker and miller, who is believed to have leased also the Castle Mills, as his name appears as a witness on a schedule of plate left at the Church of St. Thomas's after the Edwardian Commissioners had " visited " the Church in 1549. He was Mayor of Oxford in 1556, 1560, 1568 and 1575.

In the pages of the Oxford Historical Society's work (Vol. LXXV) a detailed plan of the High Street surrounding " The Mitre " in 1772 is given, together with the names of the lessees of the adjacent properties in that year. At that time Mr. Underwood occupied the whole of the back premises of the present " Mitre " property, but only had a frontage adjacent to the entrance, of 8 yards 1 ft., now occupied by a portion of the dining-room. The corner of the present property was leased to a Mr. Bletsoe, whilst on the smoke-room side a Mrs. Haynes had the lease, which also covered the property now occupied by Messrs. Long. The extent of this whole frontage amounted to, approximately, 70 feet.

In 1667, when John Lazenby leased " The Mitre," we find that he had as tenants Mr. Green on one side, at the Turl Street corner, and Mr. Stringer on the other side.

Mr. John Stringer is stated to have issued a trade token and to have paid a subsidy in 1667, together with a Poll Tax; and the *O.H.S. Journals* give details of other taxes which were paid by tenants of " The Mitre " property, as follows:

Nov. 4, 1545. William Tylcock: " Mitre " Rental to Lincoln College. Subsidy and Tax, £16 10s. 8d.

1662. John Lazenby: Hearth Tax, XVIIId.

Oct., 1665. ditto ditto XVId.

1667. John Lazinby: Poll Tax for wife and eight children. 10/-.

(Four servants also paid, as follows:)

Margaret Ashly, no wages: 1/-.

Isabell Ellis, wages £2: 3/-.

Aron Nicholls, chamberline: 1/-.

Robert Lankett: 1/-.

1667. John Lazinby. Subsidy paid. 7/6.

From the *O.H.S. Journals* we gather that in 1665 a Hearth Tax was paid by " lodging houses for graduates and undergraduates, having from 14 to 20 hearths." This tax was paid by " The Mitre," " The Bear," and " The Star " (Clarendon).

THE "MITRE" CRYPT,
Showing thirteenth-century vaulting and west window opening.

Crypt of "The Mitre."

Anthony à Wood, writing in the seventeenth century, refers to the crypt and cellars of "The Mitre," and adds: "The tenement also, adjoining on the East side, now the Mitre Inne, hath bin a far ancienter receptacle for scholars than that (Elden Hall) given to University College by John Gunwardby, 1360, but by what name stiled I cannot say. It hath a larg vault underneath it, made use of now as a cellar, and stretcheth itself under all those houses standing at the West side of All Souls (now All Saints Church), and formerly under the gate thereof to Elden Hall; and besides that, before it was made use of as an inne, there was either a large refectory or els oratory to celebrate divine service in, the portraiture of the West window wherof standing within these forty years and lesse. On the wall parting this and Elden Hall arose a controversy betweene the owners of the said tenement, whose wall it was, and who bound to repaire it."

On a further occasion he refers to the "religious appearance" of the old cellars of the Hotel, stating "a cellar or subterraneum belonging to some church or religious house"; and again, "To this day is an ancient and deep vault underneath, curiously arched with stone, like under divers halls and religious places within this city in our great-grandfather's dayes."

This crypt, part of which is now the wine cellars of "The Mitre," dates back therefore at least to the thirteenth century and perhaps to an earlier period, whilst one bay retains a fine specimen of groined vaulting, the ribs being supported by diminutive shafts, with caps and bases complete, as shown in the illustration. In one portion of the crypt there is still in splendid preservation the West window opening, of which the following reference has been made by Wood: In 1620 "there had been a stained-glass window, looking north." Later the window was displaced by a staircase "leading to the room above, and coming out into a small closet over the fireplace, in which is a peep-hole." This Peep-hole has always been described as a "priests' hiding-hole." The tenants of "The Mitre" were known to have been Catholics for many years, so that this was probably one of the many hiding places used by the Recusants in the vast cellarage which undermines this part of Oxford. In 1921 the closet, with the opening leading to the crypt, still existed,

but a portion had to be removed during structural alterations to make room for the new kitchens of the hotel, and the framework containing the wooden door and the peep-hole is now erected above the fireplace in No. 19 room.

Hurst, writing in 1899, states: "There is a series of cellars belonging to this place, of extraordinary interest. At the corner of the Turl is a mixture of seventeenth-century and fourteenth-century vaulting. Under the next house to the north, in the Turl, appear pointed arches close to the pavement, as in the Carfax cellar, of which the east wall here is almost a duplicate. Then comes a square compartment with early Decorated vaulting-ribs and short engaged shafts, also an old window looking west." This part is left uninjured, and causes the raised ground floor in "The Old Berkeley" dining room of "The Mitre." "Lastly, under the next house north, a very narrow one, comes simple semi-circular or barrel vaulting, in rough, grouted masonry and very thick walls. This seems to be six or seven hundred years old at the least."

Antiquaries consider that the earliest portion of the building is of Norman date. The large, thin stones indicate a very early date, and from the pitch of the arch and the fine moulded capitals of the short shafts, referred to above, that support the vaulting, it is possible that the building may be even as early as the Saxon period. It is, therefore, certain that the rough vaulting of the cellars or crypt formed a portion of the original inn belonging to Philip Pady, in Henry III's time, and even in earlier years, prior to 1230, belonged to John Pady, his father.

Although small portions of the original vaulting have been removed or fallen away, the superstructure, with the original groined work, window openings, and other interesting portions of the crypt, remain well preserved after a period of seven hundred years, thus affording interesting and conclusive evidence not only of the stability of the work, but also of excellent constructive detail.

The cellars occupy the greater part of the area beneath the Hotel and adjacent buildings, both under the High Street and the Turl Street frontages, and they also extend across the High Street towards Alfred Street, where they are built or sunk considerably deeper than those which are placed beneath the Hotel frontages, whilst at one point there is a vault of large area and height, to which reference is made in two old leases, dated 1744 and 1785, which are on view in the dining-rooms. It is said that the cellars have at one time extended from Turl Street as far as Carfax, where they may have joined up with certain cellars and passages which have recently been discovered at the entrance to the "Golden

Cross," another of Oxford's ancient inns. It is also alleged that " The Mitre " cellars at one time formed a portion of the ancient crypt of All Saints Church. This, however, may be due to the fact that Wood considered any building of the character of this crypt, and cellars, as being ecclesiastical.

At this time architecture, both ecclesiastical and domestic, was at a high standard, and in the latter neither time nor money were grudged in the building of a noble house to give refuge to students of the University, and from the earlier history we have evidence that the property was leased, and probably occupied, by the Mayors and other prominent citizens of the City.

" All things in order stored, a haunt of ancient Peace."—*Tennyson.*

" Within the house, the old dark-panelled walls
Seem to remember Romance with her guests,
Who, royal sometimes, and of low degree,
Left still faint echoes of their ringing jests.

And up the staircase, carved in massive oak,
One wanders, and one feels her just ahead,
Turning to waft a perfumed memory
Of loveliness and beauty long since dead.

And so we guard what centuries of care,
And dead men's hands, and women's fragrant thoughts,
Have built to hold unwritten history
Of men, and nations, and forgotten courts."

Chronological Table of Owners and Tenants of "The Mitre."

Prior to 1230.—John Pady. Mayor of Oxford, 1227-1229.

1230.—Philip Pady. (Son of John Pady).

c. 1255.—William de Dunham, Rector of All Saints.

1272.—William de Seukesworth (Nephew of Philip Pady) paid yearly rent of five marks. (A. Wood).

1279.—Bishop of Lichfield, son of the Earl of Salisbury had this property "once of Philip Pady" worth £6 7s. a year, consisting of fourteen small shops. (Records of Hundred Rolls.)

c.1282.—Grants to William, son of William de Seukesworth (above-mentioned), by Roger de Mulent, Bishop of Lichfield, his uncle, "a corner house on the west side of the Church of All Saints, which was once of Philip Pady."

? —Geoffrey Makkerewel of Ireland.

1286, July 10.—Geoffrey Makkerewel granted to William de Brackley a lease of "a hall, six chambers, a stable, a kitchen and a court," with "the road leading to St. Mildred's Church (a site now occupied by Lincoln College) on the east, at a rent of £4.

1294.—Philip de Wormanhale, Mayor of Oxford in 1310, bought the property for 67 marks. It has never been sold since.

1306.—Philip de Wormanhale transfers to Robert of Watlington "for the term of his life."—Rent 33/4d. (Woods adds: "It is the Miter without doubt.)

1314.—Jointly owned by Elianore de Wormenhale (widow), Thomas de Wormenhale (son), Margaret de Wormenhale (daughter).

Between 1314 and 1337.—William de Burchestre (Bicester) in possession. —Mayor of Oxford, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1317, 1325, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1333, 1334 and 1339.

1333, Feb. 1.—Lease to John Culvert, Mayor 1285, 1292, 1293, "for two marks rent out of the tenement which was formerly that of Philip de Wormenhale, in the Parish of All Saints, Oxford, which tenement William de Burchestre now inhabits."

1337.—Elianore de Burchestre (formerly Elianore de Wormenhale) and William de Burchestre.

1341, May 4.—Property granted to Master Nicholas de Burchestre (son of above), and after death of his widow, to form a Chantry at All Saints' Church for the benefit of Lincoln College.

1349, Mar. 21.—Death of Elianore de Burchestre, of Black Death.

1349, May 29.—Death of Nicholas de Burchestre, of Black Death. Property left to Richard Cary to found Chantry, but he died also of Black Death.

1350, Nov. 5.—Cary's Executors, John Falle, John Cary and John Langrish, established Chantry of William de Burchestre for Lincoln College.

1360.—Lease to John Hertwell, Mayor 1367 and 1372, for rent of £4 6s. 8d.

1364.—Property leased to John Croxford and name changed to Croxford's Inn (also known as Dagville's Inn in 1474) (Wood).

1424, Jan. 20th.—Lease to John Walker for rent of £6 5s.

1476.—Death of William Dagville (October 29). Mayor of Oxford, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1470, 1472, and 1474.

1476-88.—Part of property owned by Dagville's widow, Margaret Parker.

1488.—Property transferred to Lincoln College, prior to the death of Margaret Parker in 1523.

1489.—A part of the property left to Margaret Parker was leased to Lincoln College for the remainder of her life for a payment of 10 marks.

1524.—John Seman. Mayor of Oxford 1476, 1477, 1482, 1486. Appears to have had the lease of the property. (Dagville's Will.)

1542.—John Seman mentioned in another document as being a property holder in All Hallow's Parish.

1545-1556.—William Tylcock (Tylocke), Miller and Baker. Mayor of Oxford, 1557, 1560, 1568 and 1575.
1557-77.—Ald. Ralph Flexney. Mayor of Oxford, 1551, 1552, 1562 and 1567.
1585.—Henry Wilks. Lease for 40 years at £6 per annum.
1605, May 28.—" Henry Wilks has Licence to keep an inn in All Saints, and hang out the sign of the Bishop's Mitre." (O.H.S.)
1609.—Henry Wilks. Lease for 40 years at £3.
1625.—Henry Wilkes, ditto, ditto.
1630—John Davis, ditto, ditto.
1640.——. Greene, " the host of the Mitre, a professed Papist, licenced by them to keep an inn." (A. Wood.)
1650.—Edward Davies. Lease for 40 years at £3.
1653.—" Widow " Davis (pro Mitro hospitio) sued for arrears of rent.
1658.—By another lease John Lazenby was the occupant of an " Inne called Ye myter " (if the widow Davis was pushed for rent he probably took over from her.)
1672.—By another lease John Lazenby is in occupation.
1678.—Eunita Lazenby (widow). Rent £3 for 40 years. (A. Wood.)
1683.—Mrs. Lazenby, the hostess of the Mitre Inn, died of fright caused by three rude persons.
1687.—By another lease Richard Eldridge appears to be in occupation, but it is not certain.
1688.—" Mr. T. Thorpe, a papist and master of the Mitre Tavern." (A. Wood.)
1693-94.—Richard Walker, Vintner (believed to have previously held the King's Head, an adjacent property). Died Nov., 1704.
1696.—Widow Tharp (Thorpe?) paid Window Tax at " the Mitre."
1704.—Richard Dodwell. Lease of " The Mitre."
1713.—Thomas Ackworth, ditto ditto
1727.—John Dodwell, ditto, ditto
1746.—John Austin, ditto, ditto. Mayor 1742.
1758-69.—Capt. Jolly (Jolly Young? who in 1751 was " host of the King's Arms," in the High Street).
1761.—John Austin (Austyn). Lease of " The Mitre." Mayor 1761, 1771.
1772.—Mrs. Underwood, " Hostess of the Mitre " (late of the King's Head Tavern).
1775.—William Austin. Lease of " The Mitre."
1801.—John Palmer, ditto, ditto
1803.—John Palmer (son of above). Lease of " The Mitre."
1815.—Thomas Peake, " Master of the Mitre " (formerly of " The Blue Boar " in St. Aldate's).
1828.—Thomas Peake, ditto, ditto.
1841, Sept. 29th.—Arthur Venables. Lease of " The Mitre."
1855, Dec. 24th.—Arthur Venables, ditto, ditto
1857, Sept. 19th.—James George Venables and William Samuel Venables (sons of above). Lease of " The Mitre."
1866.—Sarah Jane Venables (widow of J. G. Venables). Lease of " The Mitre."
1870, March 22nd.—Charles Foster. Lease of " The Mitre."
1888.—Mrs. Mary Foster (widow of above). Lease of " The Mitre."
1895.—Mrs. Mary Foster, ditto, ditto
1917.—Mitre Hotel Co., ditto, ditto

N.B.—From examination of Lincoln College documents and leases there appears evidence that at one time " The Mitre " premises consisted of two properties, one owned by the " Burchestre " family in the fourteenth century, the other a " Dagville " property, owned by William Dagville in the fifteenth century. Both these properties now belong to Lincoln College. The Rev. H. E. Salter is of the opinion that the Dagville property was nearer Carfax, although the College authorities state they " have no other property in the ' High ' on this side beyond Long's shop " (adjoining " The Mitre ").

The Rise of the University of Oxford.

Famed as a city and seat of learning long before its University was founded, it is alleged by Anthony à Wood in the seventeenth century that Memphric, King of the Britons, built the city in the 1009th year B.C., and called it Caer Memphric. It was afterwards called Belle-situm or Bello-situm, which implies in the Celtic language "a Ford of Oxen," which is now said to have been traced a quarter-of-a-mile west of the city. When the Saxons over-ran the kingdom in A.D. 689, the Celtic name was perpetuated in "Oxeneford." During the reigns of the Saxon kings the city was the residence of Alfred the Great and his three sons, and to this monarch is given by many the credit of having caused Oxford to become a seat of learning. Since the days of King Alfred, Oxford has, at all events, been regarded as one of the most important centres of thought and learning in this country. Important schools existed at Oxford from the time of the Conquest, but there is no substantial evidence to indicate that it was a University town before the reign of Henry II (1154–1189).

Jeaffreson gives us the following alleged story of the Rise of the University of Oxford :—"Towards the last year of the eleventh century there might have been seen, wending their tardy way towards the walls of Oxford, a party of seven pedestrians, whose rusty habiliments and thoughtful countenances betokened their possession of learning and their want of money. Each of the wayfarers bore, slung from his neck, a wallet, of which the chief contents were a slenderly provided purse and the materials for a frugal meal. Each traveller also carried upon his shoulders an unobtrusive knapsack that contained a few manuscripts, and such articles as may be conveniently designated his household gods, but neither a clean shirt nor a change of outer raiment. Of various ages, between twenty-five and fifty years, these men had endured troubles and cherished divers ambitions. . . . They were journeying to Oxford in the reasonable hope that they would be able to earn their livelihood by imparting their knowledge to the children of its burghers. . . . Towards the close of a laborious day the seven comrades discerned the keep and modest tenements of the city, and ere the light had

gradually faded into darkness they had found shelter appropriate to their lowly condition, and as occupants of the same bed were unconsciously recruiting their energies for the anxious duties of the morrow. . . ." These founders of Oxford University did not announce their readiness to instruct pupils, or build or hire houses in which to receive their friends. "It was a time for small beginnings, and the settlers were glad to obtain the use of some unfurnished chambers and ramshackle outhouses from householders whose notions of rent were the reverse of exorbitant. One of the adventurers acquired for a few pence, paid half-yearly, a spacious and cobwebby garret at the top of a woodwainer's dwelling; another was so fortunate as to secure a room over a beer-shop; a third contrived to get possession of a disused stable, a loft, an old hen-house, and a small court containing a large water-butt, on the understanding that he would teach reading, writing and arithmetic to his landlord's three sons. . . . The traders of the town were not slow in giving a trial to the new-comers. . . . Every successive three months saw an enlargement in their classes, so that before a generation had passed away the academic profession had become an important feature of the permanent population of the place. . . . When the seven primitive settlers had hired their first quarters, the University was planted. When the townspeople sent children to their classes the University had taken root. As soon as fresh teachers, following in the wake of the pioneers, opened fresh schools, the University was on the road to fame. . . . The more energetic and speculative of them tried their fortune in the lodging-house line of their ignoble profession, and began to offer their young friends the advantages of a comfortable home, together with the benefits of sound instruction. Just as the old Law-schools of London were called Inns of Law or Hostels for Law students, these Oxford boarding-schools were designated hotels or inns by the unlearned vulgar, as well as by the scholars themselves, who, however, soon contracted a pedantic fashion of calling them Aulæ, or Scholars' Halls. . . The first of these inns had not been established many years when there were about a score of such seminaries in the full swing of business within a mile-and-a-half of St. Mary's Church."

Sir A. T. Quiller Couch, in his article "The Secret," *Oxford Historical Pageant*, 1907, clearly sums up the wonderful heroism of the early students of the University against privation and discomfort. In this he states: "We have, if we go back to the beginning, to picture an Oxford in which only a few Jews' houses were built of stone; in which the herded students from all quarters of England, Scotland, Europe, had scarcely a recreation beyond drinking

and dicing in taverns; where the upper windows discharged their slops into open gutters running midway down the alleys; where in cold weather the lecturer talked foggily by lantern light or within unglazed windows to a group of scholars blowing on their nails and shuffling their feet in the straw. . . . With difficulty, too, . . can we picture to ourselves the extreme poverty in which many of the students lived who listened to Edmund Rich, Roger Bacon, Robert Grosseteste (Bishop of Lincoln, 1235). Yet even the most famous story of their poverty ends in that note of youth which, if we will hold to it, holds somewhere the secret of Oxford. There lodged together (we are told) three students so poor that they had but one cappa (cope) between them to cover their tunics: and so they took it in their turns, the one going abroad in the cappa to lecture, while the other two kept to their room. They fared on bread and porridge and a little wine, and never saw meat or fish but on Sundays and holy days: and yet the story winds up that Richard, of Chichester, who was one of the three, always remembered this time as the jolliest in his life. There, in brief epilogue, shines the spirit of youth which is the spirit of Oxford."

The thirteenth was the century in which "Universitas" received her first important benefactions, including the "chests" which yielded relief to poor scholars, and the munificent foundations of William of Durham, John Balliol, and Walter of Merton. This was also the century in which she first obtained the protection of royalty, certified by charter some six centuries from the present time, and something less than two hundred years after the first plantation of her earliest schools.

Thus, the commencement of the ancient and wonderful University of Oxford, which now embraces men and women of all creeds, nations and languages, all desirous of improvement and learning, as in the earliest days of the eleventh century.

> "Beautiful City! so venerable, so lovely, so unravaged by the fierce intellectual life of our century, so serene! And yet, steeped in sentiment as she lies, spreading her gardens to the moonlight, and whispering from her towers the last enchantments of the Middle Ages, who will deny that Oxford, by her ineffable charm, keeps ever calling us nearer to the true goal of all of us, to the ideal, to perfection, to beauty in a word, which is only truth seen from another side?"
>
> —Matthew Arnold.

Oxford University: Its Halls and Early Foundation.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries but few schools or lecture rooms existed in Oxford, and the students of the then newly-formed University found lodging in private houses and in Inns, Halls, or "Hostels."

A "hostel," we learn, was usually a private house hired by a group of students, that they might live together more economically, and the senior man among them, who was responsible to the landlord for the rent, and to the University for the good conduct of his men, gradually came to be called the "Principal." We must remember that in those days the students of the Universities were entered when they were mere youths and even boys, who had learnt no discipline either in their homes or in such schools as were then existing.

The "hostel" was either named after the owners ("The Mitre" being quoted in those early days as "Croxford's" Inn, and afterwards "Dagville's" Inn) or from its having a tree by it, or a well, or by its position in the street, or its being tiled, or thatched, or having a chimney (which was a rare thing in those days).

"Such tenements," we are informed by Wood, "were for the better distinction from others called Stone or Tiled halls. Some of those halls that were not slated were, if standing near those that were, stiled Thatched halls. Likewise, when glass came into fashion—for before that time our windows were only latticed—that hall that had its windows first glazed was styled, for difference sake, Glazen hall. In like manner, 'tis probable that those that had leaden gutters, or any part of their roofs of lead, were styled Leaden hall, or, in one instance, Leaden porch. Those halls, also, that had staples to their doors—for our predecessors used only latch and catch—were written Staple halls."

Wood states that, prior to the foundation and endowment of colleges, as we now know them, "the students of Oxford used to lodge in the citizens' houses, but after this several tenements were set aside for their use, that they might live together in societies, which, being distinguished from the

private houses of the citizens, were called either ' inns,' from the Saxon, or ' hostels,' from the French." (Of these, it is alleged, there were in the reign of Edward I (1272) no less than three hundred). " The proprietors of these inns, or hostels, were not allowed to apply them to any other purpose than the reception of students, nor demise them without this exception, and certain conditions were applied by the University. In these hospitia did the students live, at first by the contribution of the nobility and great men in Church and State, and afterwards at their own expense, till the pious and munificent patrons of learning thought fit to settle for ever upon them certain and plentiful revenues and to enlarge and beautify their habitations."

In the reign of Henry V two ordinances were passed, viz., that all scholars were to be under the government of Principals, and that they were not to have their chambers in the houses of laymen, under various pains and penalties.

The students were from this time no longer dispersed through the streets and lanes of the city, dwelling in isolated houses, halls, inns or hostels, subject to dubious control and precarious discipline, but were then placed under the immediate superintendence of tutors and governors, and lodged in a Hall or College, where " commons " or feeding was provided, the cost of such being from eight to eighteen pence per week.

A new order of things thus may be dated from this memorable era, and these laws secured the command of the Colleges, which became absolute under Queen Elizabeth and the Stuarts.

Wood adds that " most of the Colleges were built upon the scite of one or more of the ancient halls, and several of them contained little more than these, with some additional buildings, retaining also their former name for a long time." Few remain, however, bearing their ancient title. He adds that, " had not the said remaining halls come into the hands of the Colleges, they would have decayed as other halls did in the reigns of King Henry VII and Henry VIII."

In addition to these halls, it is stated that Oxford had numerous religious places in which many of the students lived. Many also both lodged and carried out their studies in the taverns and eating houses, which were numerous in those days, whilst some " lodged in ' poor cabins ' and in the ' turrets or turrells ' of the town walls." We read in Chaucer's *Miller's Tale* of the fourteenth century that the poor scholar lodged with a carpenter who worked for the Abbot of Oseney.

> " This clarke was clept Hind Nicholas,
> A chamber had he in that hostelrie,
> Alone, withouten any compagnie."

In Harrison's description of England we read the following :—

" In mine opinion the livers in these (halls) were verie like to those that are of Inns in the Chancerie. . . The students also that remaine in them are called ' hostelers ' or ' halliers.' "

He also adds in a later paragraph : " Therein are also manie dwelling houses of stone yet standing that have beene hals for students of verie antike workemanship, beside the old wals or sundrie other, whose plots have beene converted into gardens, since colleges were erected."

" Ye sacred Nurseries of blooming youth !
In whose collegiate shelter England's Flowers
Expand, enjoying their vernal hours,
The air of liberty, the light of truth ;
Much have ye suffered from Time's gnawing tooth :
Yet, O ye spires of Oxford ! domes and towers !
Gardens and groves ! your presence overpowers
The soberness of reason ; till, in sooth,
Transformed, and rushing on a bold exchange,
I sight my own beloved Cam, to range
Where silver Isis leads my stripling feet ;
Pace the long avenue, or glide adown
The stream-like windings of that glorious street—
An eager Novice robed in fluttering gown ! "

—WORDSWORTH.

Oxford, May 30th, 1820.

Life and Times from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century.

" Some in earnest business bent,
Their murmuring labours ply
'Gainst graver hours, that bring constraint
To sweeten liberty."

In Seccombe & Scott's *In Praise of Oxford* we read that " Through the peaceful reign of Henry the Second, Oxford quietly grew in numbers and repute. At the opening of the thirteenth century Oxford stood without a rival in its own country, while in European celebrity it took rank with the greatest schools. In the outer look of the new University there was nothing of the pomp that overawes the freshman as he first paces the ' High ' or looks down from the gallery of St. Mary's. In the stead of long fronts of venerable colleges, of stately walks beneath immemorial elms, history plunges us into the mean and filthy lanes of a medieval town.

" Thousands of boys, huddled in bare lodging-houses, clustering round teachers as poor as themselves, in church-porch and house-porch, drinking, quarrelling, dicing, begging at the corners of the street, take the place of the brightly-coloured train of Doctors and Heads. Mayor and Chancellor struggled in vain to enforce order or peace on this seething mass of turbulent life. The retainers who followed their young lords to the University fought out the feuds of their houses in the streets. Scholars from Kent and scholars from Scotland waged the bitter struggle of North and South. At nightfall roysterer and reveller roamed with torches through the narrow lanes, defying bailiffs, and cutting down burghers at their doors. Now a mob of clerks plunged into the Jewry, and wiped off the memory of bills and bonds by sacking a Hebrew house or two. Now a tavern squabble between scholars and townsman widened into a general broil, and the academical bell of St. Mary's vied with the town bell of St. Martin's in clanging to arms.

" The medieval student, although miserably poor and enthusiastically eager for learning, was riotous to a degree that would have shocked the silliest and wealthiest set that ever made a modern college uncomfortable. The ordinary

undergraduate, as well as the ordinary townsman, possessed a sword, which he girded on for his protection on a journey, or for any other special cause, so that the riots in the streets of Oxford were affairs of life and death, and the feud of 'town and gown' a blood-feud. Many of the students were laymen, but the majority were in training to be 'clerks.' There can be little doubt that the lawless habits contracted at the University account in part for the violent and scandalous life of the innumerable clergy in lower orders. The college system had already risen to meet this evil, but it was not till the fifteenth century that any very large proportion of the 'secular' students were brought under college discipline. Heresy could more easily spread in the inns and lodging-houses where the students then lived, than in colleges, which could be supervised by orthodox masters, and visited by inquisitorial bishops."

Early in this century, owing to disturbances of the peace and "contempt of ecclesiastical liberty," many scholars fled from Oxford, and the University determined to suspend all scholastic exercises, while the legate, Nicholas, Bishop of Tusculum, laid an interdict on the city. It suffered so much from 1209 to 1214 that on the latter date it submitted to the legate, and made a compact, under oath, not to encroach on the Bishop's authority, to offer masses for the slain, and to remit house rents to the returning scholars. The citizens had to remit half the rents of their "hostels" for the next ten years, and to pay 52/- yearly for the use of poor scholars to the Abbot of Osney and Prior of St. Frideswide, and feed a hundred poor scholars with bread, ale and pottage, and one large dish of fish or flesh yearly on the feast of St. Nicholas. In 1219 the city agreed with the Abbey of Eynsham that it should undertake this payment, and an Eynsham deed of that year is one of the earliest University documents.

In Lyte's *History of the University of Oxford* he states: "University buildings there were none, but the old Congregational House was built in 1320. Before this, business was transacted in monastic houses, cloisters, or the Churches of St. Mildred (in Turl Street, and now demolished, Lincoln College occupying this site) or St. Mary's, where the books were kept in large chests. At Oxford the number of students was not far from three thousand, and ranged from the poor scholar who supported himself during Term by the profits of licensed medicancy, or manual labour, to the privileged sons of Earls and nephews of Bishops. They lived in halls, their rations being 'commons,' and their extras being called 'battels.' In a small garret or bedroom would be kept their chattels, a fife perhaps, a sword, a dagger, one or two books, bedding and cooking utensils. . . Alms were doled out

from iron boxes to promising scholars, and shortly after 1249 John Baliol maintained a few clerks from the North in a kind of alms hall."

Jeaffreson estimates that the academic population of medieval Oxford was approximately six thousand, and the total number of scholastic inns of whose existence there is evidence amounted to about eighty, whilst Wood alleges that in the reign of Edward I there were about three hundred.

Jeaffreson adds: "So long as meat and malt liquor, oatmeal and coarse flour, were plentiful in the High Street on market days, I doubt not that the tables of the boarding-schools yielded a sufficiency of nutriment to the lads who fed at them. It often happened, however, that supplies were deficient, and prices correspondingly high; whereupon riots sometimes arose at the seat of learning, conflicts between the provision-dealers of the city and the knowledge-seekers of the schools. . . The gruel of the inns was thick, and made of milk as well as water, but careless cooking too often gave it a burnt flavour, which roused the discontent and disgust of its consumers. The loaves of wheaten or pulse bread were sometimes too dark throughout, that it was not always easy to say at a glance whether the crust had been charred in the oven. The meat served up in joints, or stews, or puddings, was the meat of the period, and in the winter months so salt that it skinned the eater's gums."

"It would be regarded as a matter of course that he should share a small, musty bedroom with four or five companions; and unless he should be prepared to pay highly for exceptional comforts—to be in fact, a collegiate parlour-boarder, or, as he is nowadays termed, "gentleman commoner"—he would be expected to sleep in the same bed, as well as the same room, with the irregularly washing hobbledehoys. The common mattress would be stuffed with straw, and its co-partnership, during the freezing nights of sharp winters, would keep each other unequally warm by huddling together under a single woollen rug. . . On emerging from his fœtid garret at break of day, he would realise the feelings with which the amateur casual of notorious experiences came forth from his ward after having undergone the most repulsive part of his self-imposed punishment."

Generally speaking, the following words of Thomas Lever, given in 1550, sum up the daily round:—"There be divers there, which ryse daylye betwyxte four and fyve of the clocke in the mornynge, and from fyve untyll syxe of the clocke use common prayer, wyth an exhortagyon of God's worde in a common chappell, and from syxe unto ten of the clocke use ever eyther pryvate study or commune lectures. At ten of the clocke they go to dynner, wherat they be contente wyth a penye pyece of byefe amongst iiii, hauinge a fewe

potage made of the brothe of the same byefe, wyth salt and otemell and nothynge els. After this slender dinner they be either teachynge or learnynge untyll V of the clocke in the eveninge, when they have a supper not muche better then theyr dyner, immediatelie after the which they go either to reasoning in problemes, or unto some other studie, until it be nyne or tenne of the clocke, and there beynge without fire, are faine to walk or runne yp and downe halfe an houre to get a hete on their fete when they go to bed."

Oxford later became the centre of the great religious movement which swept all England for a period of some thirty years during the fourteenth century. It raised a protest " against Papacy, against indulgences, the corruptions of prelates, monks and friars, and even against neglectful parish priests." The victory of the University, we read, was completed by the famous riot on St. Scholastica's Day, 10th February, 1354, to which reference is made on other pages.

During the reign of King Henry V there appears to have been a lawless state of things in Oxford, and in the year 1411 the colleges had their own feuds, and it is stated that " three fellows—William Symon, Robert Dikes, and Thomas Wilton—heads of a band of ruffians by night, beat, wound and spoil men and cause murder. They haunt taverns by day and night, and do not enter college before ten or eleven or twelve o'clock, and even scale the walls, to the disturbance of quiet students, and bring in armed strangers to spend the night." The Chancellor could neither sleep in his house by night nor walk in the High Street by day, till at last, in fear of his life, he resigned office. In 1432 a University statute fixed fines for acts of violence, over and above the usual penalties.

The Long Vacation was originally intended to enable the " poor clerks," in the early period of the University, to take their part in the harvests. It was not until the sixteenth century that Oxford began to be a rich man's university.

In this century the University entered upon a period of almost general decline. It was a century of fighting rather than of learning, yet it produced three colleges, viz., Lincoln (1429), All Souls (1437), and Magdalen (1458); and at this period the University also succeeded in obtaining the wonderful library of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, which, together with the great gift of Sir Thomas Bodley, formed the nucleus of the Bodleian Library.

Inter Muros.

The Streets of the City of Medieval Oxford.

EXTRACTS FROM AN ARTICLE BY
THE REV. H. E. SALTER, 1912.

"Woe to him who does not feel in passing through Oxford that he is in 'no mean city,' that he is surrounded with the monuments and lordly mansions of the mind of man, outvying in pomp and splendour the courts and palaces of princes, rising like an exhalation in the night of ignorance, and triumphing over barbaric foes, saying: 'All eyes shall see me, and all knees shall bow to me!'" (*Hazlitt*, 1824.)

"When our records of Oxford begin, nine hundred years ago, the streets of Oxford were practically the same as they are now. Two or three unnecessary lanes have been closed and built upon; the narrower streets have been widened, especially since 1771, when powers for that purpose were given by Act of Parliament, Geo. III, cap. 19; but only two new streets have been made within the walls—one in 1770, the New Road, and the other a hundred years later, when King Edward Street was made through the property of Oriel College to provide an approach to the College.

"Medieval Oxford was a town of mean houses and mean streets. It is true that some of the streets were, and are, famous for their width, but High Street, Cornmarket, and St. Aldate's were exceptional, and all the other streets were narrow, as in other medieval towns. One who stands between St. Mary's Church and All Souls, or between All Saints and 'the Mitre,' will understand how narrow a side street was in medieval Oxford. . . The Turl has been widened several times (it was once only eight feet wide). Market Street is now twice as wide as it was in 1770. . . .

"The ordinary house in the early Middle Ages consisted of a cellar (celar), a ground floor, and a first floor, which is called the 'solar.' A house which had another storey, as we know from its description, was built before 1350. It stood in Cornmarket next to St. Martin's Church, and was called 'La Garite.' From about 1350 onwards, when houses were re-built, it was customary to add a garret. . . .

" Houses in Oxford were built for the most part of stone. Bricks were not invented until about 1420, and although there is mention of brick in a record of the year 1450, stone remained the usual material. It was cheap and abundant. When a house was pulled down, the stones were cleaned and used for another building. They were not squared, except roughly, and were put up with a large amount of bad mortar, consisting of clay for the most part. The ordinary thickness of the wall of a house was two feet. It is often supposed that a freeholder owns the land beneath him to the centre of the earth and also upwards to the sky, but in medieval Oxford it was common for the cellar to be the freehold of one man, the ground floor the freehold of another, and the 'solar' the freehold of a third, and there are still houses in Oxford where the upper storey and the ground floor belong to different owners." As an instance, Mr. Salter quotes that until some forty years ago " Oriel owned a cellar in Turl Street, while Lincoln had for centuries owned the house above." . . It has been said that " the houses were generally built of stone, but in early times there must have been some other kind of building, because in deeds of the reign of King John and Henry III houses are sometimes described as 'built of stone,' implying that there was another, and inferior, kind of building. Whether the other kind was lath and plaster, with a timber frame, or merely a house of mud walls, is not yet clear. . . Roofing was generally, if not always, of Stonesfield slate, or, as it was called, 'slat stone.' Thatch was forbidden, at all events for residences, by an ancient custom or regulation of the town. There is some reason for thinking that this regulation dates from the end of the twelfth century (after the great fire at Oxford in 1190), and was introduced to lessen the risk of fire. In that year we learn that most of Oxford was burnt, and the citizens then began to follow the example of London in using stone, at least for the party walls between the wooden houses.

" Something may here be said about the streets and the repairing of them. All the main streets were then paved with cobble stones; there were no side-walks for pedestrians, but the cobble stones extended up to the houses (see illustration p. 54). The road sloped down to the middle, where it was a gutter, called in old deeds the kennel, cannel, or channel, and there is still one road in Oxford which retains its old style, viz., Brazenose Lane. Every house was obliged to repair the road in front of it as far as the kennel. Since they had no underground drains, it is obvious that after a sharp shower the lower part of High Street must have been a raging torrent. As there was very little wheeled traffic in the Middle Ages, a footwalk for foot-passengers was not much needed. . . . (Merton Street and Broad Street still retain portions of the old cobbled roadway.)

"High Street was then, as now, of fine dimensions, but its width is not easily explained. Such width was not required for traffic, and the undergraduates, as we learn from coroners' inquests, used the lower end of 'The High' as a football ground, where on Sunday evenings they played football which led to murder, while the townsmen at the upper end played cricket, which led to assault and battery. The lower end of High Street, from St. Mary's to East Gate, was specially given up to academic halls.

"Probably the general idea is that a hall was like a small college, and its buildings of dignified character, like St. Mary Hall, or St. Edmund Hall; but it was not so in the palmy days of the halls, when colleges were few or none. In ancient days a hall was nothing but a lodging-house kept by a Master of Arts, and belonging either to one of the burgesses or one of the religious houses. . . A hall of medium size would have two rooms downstairs, two rooms upstairs, and a kitchen and out-premises at the back. On the site of 'Amsterdam' (now a portion of Brazenose College) was one of the largest halls, called Broadgates, the rent of which was three times as much as that of an ordinary hall, and we happen to know that it contained five rooms on the ground floor and six rooms above. . .

"College fronts are now the chief feature of the lower part of High Street, but it must be remembered that in the year 1400 there was nothing of the kind. It is true that Queen's, University and Oriel owned houses in the High, but they had not yet turned them into college buildings. . .

"A shop in the Middle Ages was very different from a modern shop. It was not a place where a large store was kept, but a workshop where the owner would make you a certain article. Thus a bootmaker's shop contained no supply of boots, but was a small room where the cobbler made boots for his customers, and his only stock was a few feet of leather. . . Consequently, they could be satisfied with much smaller shops than the modern tradesman. Eighteen feet by twelve would be above the average for shops, and at the junction of High Street and Cornmarket they were in many cases less than seven feet by nine. . . But it is not the narrowness only of the shops that is remarkable, but also they had no back premises. They occupied the frontage on the street, and behind, and often built against the back of the shop would be a gentleman's house, with a garden. Sometimes the house and the shops in front were owned by one man, but in many cases they were different freeholds. This introduced a difficulty in the reconstruction of a map of Oxford: for when we read of a tenement, say next to the 'Mitre' or next to the 'Cross' Inn, we are uncertain whether this

means the tenement in front or the tenement behind, both of which could be described in that way. The shops, in short, were a narrow fringe in front, and behind them were academic halls and residences of the burgesses, which were reached by diving through a tunnel. . . This arrangement of shops in front of houses does not seem to date from the earliest times. We learn that the rebuilding with shops in front took place about 1190, and although there must always have been some shops, yet it seems that many were made between 1180 and 1250. That was a time of great prosperity for Oxford. The population had suddenly been increased by three thousand or four thousand scholars, who, however penurious, must at least buy food and boots. It was at that time that those who had frontage on the street, especially near Carfax, found that they could make a profit by letting it or selling it for shops. But after a couple of centuries they began to find these shops too small, and that process began which has been completed only within the last half-century, by which the tenement behind and the shops in front were united into one holding. About fifty years ago Balliol still owned one in High Street, a space of about twelve feet by eighteen feet, on the ground floor, with property of Oriel on both sides and above and behind.

The original "Mitre" frontage and main wall was probably what is now the rear wall of the Drawing Room, this wall being some feet thick, and possibly dating to the thirteenth century or even earlier. The present front rooms of the building were no doubt added when rebuilding was carried out in 1631. The old gables in the front have since been removed, though traces still remain, but they were retained in the rear of the premises. A new front, as at present, was added at the end of the eighteenth century.

"Market Street was called in old days Cheney Lane, from the fact that it had chains at each end, no doubt on pillars. The chain, as we know from an old lease, was not actually at the west end of the lane, but about fifteen yards down. Probably the chain had the same purpose as the gate at the end of Brazenose Lane, namely, to stop noisy traffic, as there were many Academic Halls in this street, and it is quite possible that other of the side streets had similar chains."

[One regrets that the name of Cheney Lane was ever altered, as it records an interesting old fact. We learn also that as late as 1800 there was a turnpike in New College Lane, which could be closed at night.]

"Opposite the end of Frewin Court was the pillory in the middle of Northgate Street (now Cornmarket Street). A pillory was of the same nature as the stocks except that it had three holes, one for the neck and two for the hands;

and also it was raised on a platform (see illustration on p. 48). It was a means of punishment, in particular for bakers and brewers who adulterated their goods." It is stated there were complaints to the King, from the University, that the punishment of the pillory was not duly awarded to dishonest bakers and brewers, "for the townsfolk were not willing to punish their brethren for fleecing the University." The University sent another complaint that such dishonest tradesmen, who had been adjudged to the pillory, were allowed merely to ascend the platform and descend again, and the King had to command that the culprits should be put into the pillory and remain there for an hour. The pillory was last used in 1810, a man named Tubb being the last man to stand therein, for perjury.

Wood informs us that during the early part of the seventeenth century "the City authorities gradually narrowed the ends of the four streets by allowing the fronts of houses and shops to be brought forward." In 1771 the stalls and standings projecting into the street were removed, new and extended fronts taking their places, and the High Street probably then attained its present appearance. Concerning these alterations, the Rev. J. Woodroffe states in his *Diary :* 1771, Oct. 19th :—"The Streets of Oxford are much improved, all the signs are taken down and put against the Houses, the Streets widened, East Gate and 'Brocardo' (Bocardo) taken down." (*N.B.*—The Rev. Woodroffe's previous visit to Oxford was from August 17th to 24th, 1768.)
1779: Sept. 13th.—"The High Street in Oxford is exceedingly handsome, being lately paved."

A shed, supported by stone pillars and covered with a leaden roof, which ran down Cornmarket Street and obstructed the thoroughfare, was also removed about 1771. This shed was originally erected in 1536, by Dr. Claymund, President of Corpus.

VIEW OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY GABLES AT "THE MITRE."

The date, 1631, is carved on the bracket beneath the left-hand gable window.

(*From a pencil sketch by Walter Gandy.*)

Viator, August 22nd, 1889:

"'Shall I not take mine ease in mine inn?' There is probably no hotel in Europe where the comfort of the traveller can be so fully satisfied as in the old 'Mitre' at Oxford, and moreover is."

Oxford City and its Guilds.

In 1319 we learn that Edward II commanded the Mayor and Bailiffs to prevent those who were not free of any guild thrusting out those that were, and to divide the tradesmen of the town from strangers by limits and bounds; and if the Mayor and Bailiffs did not conform thereto, the University might do it, viz.: "All sellers of hay and straw shall stand with their teams in the middle of High Street, between Eastgate and Allhallows Church. All sellers of faggots and other like fuel in carts and wagons, between Oriel College Lane and the south of High Street. The timber merchants between St. Thomas's Hall (near Swan Court) and St. Edward's Lane (Alfred Street). The sellers of hogs and swine between St. Mary's and Allhallows Church. Beer and ale-drapers between St. Edward's Lane and the Chequer Inn (opposite "The Mitre"). The sellers of roots and coals by St. Edward's Lane, on the north of High Street. The bakers between Carfax Conduit and Northgate (Cornmarket). The furriers, linen and woollen drapers by the two-faced pump (in High Street) (see illustration on p. 48). The tanners between Carfax and Somner's inn (to the south of the Cross Inn). Sellers of butter, cheese, milk, eggs, from the corner of Carfax towards the Old Bailey. The corn-sellers between the Cross Inn and Northgate."

It is recorded by Anthony à Wood that "the sellers of gloves and whitawyers (*i.e.*, tawyers or dressers of white leather) shall stand between All Saints Church and the tenement which was sometimes John le Goldysmyth's, which Robert Westley now holdeth of the masters of Great University Hall, on the north side of the street. (This tenement is the next saving one or else the very next on the west side of the Miter Inne.)"

Besides these market stands, the trades had separate districts of the town assigned to them. Thus from *Medieval Towns* (*Oxford*) we learn that "the Vintnery, the quarter of taverns and wine cellars, which was at the north end of St. Aldate's, flourished mightily. The students, for all their lust of knowledge, were ever good samplers of what Rabelais calls the holy water of the cellar. You might deduce that from the magnificent cellars of the Mitre Inn or Bulkley Hall (corner of St. Edward Street), and, above all, from those of the old Vintnery. For the houses north of the Town Hall

have some splendid cellars, which connect with another under the street, and so with others under the first house on the west side of St. Aldate's, the famous old Swindlestock (Siren or Mermaid Inn). This, it is maintained, accounts for the hill at Carfax. Certainly, the earliest roadway at Carfax is traceable at the unexpected depth of eleven feet seven inches below the present high road, which is some three-and-a-half feet below what it should be, according to the average of one foot per hundred years observed by most medieval towns as their rate of deposit."

From St. Mary's to All Saints was the "Spicery." From All Saints to the middle of what is now the Market stood the shops of the goldsmiths, and it was called the "Orfuery," or "Aurefuria," whilst from there to Carfax the cooks had their shops or eating houses, where cooked meat could be bought. This portion of the High Street was called the "kuery" or "cook-rew." On the opposite side of the street, viz., from Alfred Street, to Carfax, was the "bochery." On both sides of the High Street there were inns and wine taverns and coffee-houses, some of which are known to fame, and of which the sign-boards can be seen in the illustration of this street on page 54.

Many of these inns had fine cellars. There were considerable cellars on the site of the Post Office, but these have now been destroyed, though there are still to be seen magnificent cellars under the street at the upper end of the Town Hall, where the vintners kept their wine of old.

"The Mitre" cellars are, of course, well known, and cover a considerable area, and reference to these in detail is made in the chapter on page 15, on the Crypt of "The Mitre." It has been stated that the Carfax cellars, however, at one period were connected with "The Mitre" cellars and with the crypt of All Saints, whilst in another well-informed article it is stated that the famous old "Mitre" cellarage was probably originally the crypt of the old Church of All Saints, which fell down in 1699. It is, however, questionable whether this was the case.

However, Oxford's vaulted cellars are said to have been used for some time by the many well-known vintners of Oxford, and many of them are still being used by the wine merchants of Oxford for the same purpose to this day. For some centuries the number of Oxford vintners was apparently limited to six, three appointed by the University and three by the City, and, for some years the average annual income from wine licenses amounted to about £140.

Among famous Oxford Vintners were Anthony Hall, Mayor 1673-4, William Morrill (Murrell), a former Mayor of the City, in 1677, who kept the "Crown" Tavern, in

Cornmarket, and another and even better known vintner was John Davenant, Mayor in 1621, and Host of the "Crown." He is best remembered as being the father of Sir William Davenant, the Poet Laureate, who was baptized at the font now in All Saints Church, and who is reported to have had Shakespeare as his godfather. (See chapter on "Carfax," page 41.)

About the year 1500 we learn that "brewers began to settle in Brewers Street, and for more than three hundred years there was a succession of them. First, Michael Hethe and his family; then about 1600 we have Oliver Smith, and others of the same name; whilst from 1680 to 1740 the Tippings, then the Droughts, and finally the Micklems, became brewers in that neighbourhood."

Early in this century, and by order of the Vice-Chancellor, the Oxford innkeepers were compelled to retail ale "not above the rate of iiijd. (4d.) the gallon," *i.e.*, "an ale quarte for a penye, an ale pinte for a halfpenye, an ale half-pinte for a farthinge." They were also obliged to sell and deliver the ale in "pewter pots allowed and sealed by the clerkes of the market, and in no other."

In the fifteenth century Wood informs us that there was an "ordinance as to apprenticeship in the craft of the Tawyers (who dressed leather with alum) at Oxford, made by the master of the trade, with the assent of William Dagvile, the Mayor. Foreigners admitted to the trade were to pay 53s. 4d. and to find a breakfast." The Mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and chamberlains were also to be invited to a breakfast, given by the craft, once a year. At this period there were a number of other guilds in Oxford, and all new members who could afford it gave a dinner on their admittance to their Guild. For instance, under Queen Elizabeth, it is stated that one Edward Kyrkeman "made the occupacyon a dynner at his admyttynge of his fre and franke good will which came of hymself, which cost him 22s." The usual drink was ale or beer, and in 1644, when the company consisted of about fifty-six persons, we learn that three kilderkins of beer (*i.e.*, fifty-four gallons) were provided, at a cost of 18s. Besides this, 7s. 3d. was charged for wine, this being the first time that wine appears. Next year five quarts of sack were provided, at the price of 7s. 6d.

In the *University and City Guide*, dated 1824, it is stated that no person, unless matriculated by the Vice-Chancellor, was allowed to open a shop in Oxford, except he be a Freeman. Freedom was gained only by birth, by apprenticeship, or by purchase.

Following the example of all other successful guilds of workers, we learn that "Oxford schoolmasters formed themselves into a guild, but instead of applying that unimpressive

and too familiar title to their corporation, they preferred to style their guild 'Universitas,' a word which well became a combination of dealers in learning. This guild laid down rules 'analagous to the regulations of industrial guilds for the government of apprentices.'"

There is no doubt that civic life in Oxford was a gayer and more highly-coloured affair in the eighteenth century than it is at the present time, and we are told that on the occasion of the proclamation of Peace at Aix la Chapelle, in February, 1749, "the various trade companies of the city assembled, each attended with its own band of French horns, drums, and other musical instruments, on foot. The several companies of the shoemakers, mercers, grocers, hatters, glovers, and butchers, wore red and white cockades. The decorations of the Masons' company were of red and blue colour; the badge of the Smiths was red and orange. The Keeper of Bocardo, the City Marshal, the City constables, the Mayor's Sergeant, accompanied by two trumpeters, all rode on horseback. The city music followed on foot. Then, on horseback also, each having one attendant, came the Bailiffs' sergeants, the Town Clerk, the Mace-bearer, the Bailiffs, the Mayor, Aldermen, and assistants, with other members of the Council. The procession started from the Town Hall, and at the Conduit on Carfax the proclamation of Peace was read. Thence the cavalcade took its course down the High Street to St. Mary's Church, where the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, Noblemen, Professors, and Proctors, were assembled to meet the Corporation and to hear the Peace proclaimed again." And so at each of the four gates of the city. "All the bells rang a peal at the same time," and, no doubt, all the bands played at the same time. "The citizens wore new white cockades. There were fireworks at night, the conduit running with wine."

Oxford Trade or Guild Tokens.

In the middle of the seventeenth century the various Guilds of the City of Oxford coined a large number of Trade Tokens of the value of a farthing. They were, we are informed, first struck in Oxford in 1652, before other towns took them up, and they appear to have been for payment of the Poll Tax, afterwards being superseded by the mintings of the first State farthings in 1672. The special feature of the series is the presence of unusual merchant-marks upon several of the tokens. These trade-marks appear on tokens also of Henley, Witney (who show a woolpack, associated with the trade of blankets), and Burford. In Oxford, we are informed in Mr. George C. Williamson's pamphlet on the subject, there were tokens issued at the Pestel and Mortar, the Cock, the Gilt Looking-Glass, the Bush, the Sugar-Loaf, the Racket and Ball, the Three Kings, the Three Salmons, the Fox and Goose, the Mermaid, the Three Blackbirds, the Golden Key, the Crown, the Salmon, the Angel, the Bird and Hand, and the Spectacles: all these signs being named on the tokens. A total of about 188 Oxford tokens were issued, most of which show the hand of a common designer; and the following trades are also represented :—Chandler, watchmaker, cutler, milliner, vintner, mercer, baker, glover, rugmaker, clock-maker, hosier, fishmonger, apothecary, goldsmith, skinner, ironmonger, draper and clothier, hatter and silk-weaver, milliners especially occurring frequently.

Reference is also made on tokens to the North Gate, the Turle Gate, and the East Gate. One issuer gives the Tennis Court as his address, but the only mention of the colleges is on one where Lawrence Short tells us he lived "neare New Colledg" (No. 167).

Tokens were issued in large numbers by other Oxfordshire towns, such as Banbury, Bicester, Thame, Chipping Norton, etc., but the town-pieces of Oxford are of greater merit than others. Of the Vintners in Oxford who issued them, the most celebrated ones are those of :—Anthony Hall at the (a mermaid). A.H. on the Obverse, and In Oxon, Vintner, A.A.H. on the Reverse. He was Mayor in 1673, and reference is made to him on page 62. ("The Mermaid" was formerly the "Swindlestock" (see page 65: St. Scholastica's Day). William Morrell at ye (a crown) on the Obverse, and Crowne in Oxford, W.A.M., on the Reverse. He was also Mayor of

Oxford, and reference to him is made on page 36; also Iohn Tey at the (an Angel) on the Obverse; Angell in Oxford on the Reverse.

One of these tokens was issued by Edward Hunt, in Oxon, at the Turle Gate, (No. 146). Probably this was issued by a coffee-house keeper in this neighbourhood, although the trade is not specified on this token. Another one, issued by "Lawrence Short, neare New Colledg in Oxon," shows a hand holding a coffee-pot, and was evidently issued by one of the numerous coffee-house owners at the period.

John Stringer, who also issued a token, appears to have carried on a trade as a saddler on a portion of the present "Mitre" premises, which were afterwards used as the old Coaching Offices of "The Mitre." His token showed a saddle on the Obverse, and "in Oxon, 1670," on the Reverse.

Another interesting token was also issued by Thomas Wood. This one showed his name, with a racket, on one side, and "vintner in Oxon, 1652, TMW," on the other. This token having the mark of a racket indicated that he also possessed the old racket court, a site which is now occupied by the Oriel College Lecture Rooms (see chapter on "The Salutation Inn, No. 104 High Street").

Carfax Church.

" Fair queen of cities with thy crown of towers,
Here I sit dreaming through the summer hours."
—James Williams: *The Oxford Year.*

The original Carfax Church was formerly known as St. Martin's Church. It was the City church, and was traditionally founded in 920 A.D. by King Edward the Elder, a son of King Alfred the Great, and was granted by Canute in 1034 A.D. to the Abbot of Abingdon. In 1820-2 it was rebuilt, with the exception of the ancient tower, which remained, and which at one period was considered to have been higher, but by command of King Edward III (1340) it was reduced to its present height, because, it is said, " upon complaint of the scholars, the townsmen could, in time of combat with them, retire to the tower as to their castle, and thence gall and annoy them with arrows and stones."

In the old church Shakespeare stood godfather to Sir William Davenant, the son of John Davenant, a vintner. In *Aubrey's Brief Lives* we learn that " Sir William Davenant, Knight, Poet Laureate, was borne in the City of Oxford, at the Crowne tavern (in 1605, and baptised March 3rd, 1606). His father was John Davenant, a vintner there, a very grave and discreet citizen. His mother was a very beautifull woman, and of very good wit, and of conversation extremely agreeable, but of very light import "; her husband however, was considered by his friends to have " looked after his business better than he did after his wife. Mr. William Shakespeare was wont to goe into Warwickshire once a yeare, and did commonly in his journey lye at this house in Oxon, when he was exceedingly respected. . . Now Sir William would sometimes, when he was pleasant over a glasse of wine with his most intimate friends, say that it seemed to him that he writt with the very spirit of Shakespeare, and seemed contented enough to be thought his son."

Sir William Davenant was a Lincoln man, and was the author and producer of the first English Opera, 1656, at Rutland House, Aldersgate Street, London. This opera was entitled *The Siege of Rhodes*, and it was notable that the character of " Ianthe " in the opera was sustained by Mrs. Henry Colman, the first female that ever performed publicly on the stage in England.

He died on April 7th, 1668, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. A fine tablet to the Davenant family is now in All Saints' Church, having been removed from Carfax Church when it was pulled down.

Giles Widdowes, Fellow of Oriel till 1621, was a noteworthy Rector of Carfax. He was known as "Lame Giles," and taught that dancing and playing were as necessary as preaching, and was known to have thrown off his gown and danced with his parishioners at the Whitsun Ales, this being a time of the year when they repaired to the Church-house and other places for friendly meetings, to eat and drink and to spend their money, to the end "that neighbourly society might be maintained, and also a common stock raised for the repairs of the church and other purposes." Sometimes in those early days so large a sum as £20 was raised.

In September, 1817, we learn from the City records that the Council ordered "that in future a salary of £5 per annum be paid to the person who blows the organ at Carfax, in lieu of the toll on pigs taken in Gloucester Green, which he has been accustomed to receive, and that hereafter the pig tolls shall be let with the other city tolls."

The nineteenth-century church was pulled down in 1896, to give greater width to the street, but the ancient tower is still standing, and the old and well-known "Quarter-boys," or figures and bells, were removed from the south aisle and re-fixed to their present position on the tower.

The following celebrated Oxford citizens were buried in St. Martin's (Carfax) Church :—1349—Richard Cary, Mayor 1328- 35-40-43-45; buried in the Lady Chapel. 1535—Richard Flexney, Alderman ; buried in St. Thomas's Chapel. 1622—John Davenant, Mayor 1621 ; father of William Davenant, the Poet Laureate. 1679—William Morrill, Mayor 1677, vintner, of the "Crown" Tavern.

The Craft of Tailors had a chantry in St. Martin's Church at Carfax, founded by Alderman Thomas Wythigge, in the reign of Henry VI, and allowed that a priest should pay for their welfare a yearly stipend of £1 16s. In token of this foundation there was a pair of tailor's shears painted in the upper window of the south aisle of St. Martin's Church.

Closely adjoining Carfax, John Underhill, third Bishop of Oxford (of New and Lincoln Colleges) was born, about 1546, at the "Cross" Inn, Cornmarket Street. He was consecrated on December 14th, 1589, but only held the See for three years, and died in great poverty in London, May 15th, 1592, and was buried at the upper end of the Choir of Oxford Cathedral.

The Magnum Balliolium, or Saxon Court of Justice, is stated to have stood formerly at Carfax, at the west end

of the churchyard, and was after used as a Council Chamber by the Corporation.

Cox, in his *Recollections of Oxford*, inform us that on January 6th, in the year 1793, an effigy of the notorious revolutionary and infidel writer, Tom Paine, was burnt at night at "Carfax." It being vacation at Oxford, the act was a "town" business, and the magistrates wisely connived at the tumultuous and somewhat riotous expression of it. The blazing bonfire and the rush of people with contributions of faggots, hurdles, old doors, empty tubs, tar-barrels, and anything that was combustible, formed a sight not easily forgotten.

WARTON'S ODE

(*Pocket Companion to the Guide of Oxford*, 1762.)

"See! *Oxford* lifts her head sublime,
"Majestic in the Moss of Time;
"Nor wants there Graecias better Part;
"Mid the proud Piles of ancient Art;
"Nor decent Doric to dispense
"New Charms 'mid old Magnificence;
"And here and there soft Corinth Weaves
"Her Daedal Coronet of Leaves,
"While, as with rival Pride, her Tow'rs invade the Sky."

THE PETITION
OF THE
OXFORD CITY ILLUMINATED CLOCK.

(From the *Oxford Journal* of May 6th, 1854.)

PITY the sorrows of the City Clock,
Whose clogging works have laboured hard so long,
Whose cracked and injured face the public mock,
Oh, give relief! and I'll no more go wrong.

This shattered face my poverty bespeaks,
These stiffened hands proclaim my fall'n estate,
And many a blunder made in passing weeks
Tells that I've been neglected much of late.

Some patrons, anxious for the public good,
With hopes elate, allured me to this spot,
And for six years on Carfax I have stood,
Uncleaned, uncared for, and by all forgot.

Hard is the fate of any parish clock,
To be exposed to censure and disgrace;
But mine is harder, for the public mock,
And the whole City stares me in the face.

Oh, take my crippled case and works in hand,
And what is needful readily supply!
Or stiffness soon will bring me to a stand,
And time will stop, instead of fleeting by.

Could I reveal the scenes on which I've gazed,
The men I've saved from being lock'd outside,
How I've by Proctors and Police been praised,
'Twould doubtless ope your hearts and purses wide.

How oft I've listened to the groups which crowd
Round Carfax corners, while they deal abuse,
And wished (a wish I dared not breathe aloud)
That they and I could be of far more use.

I throb all hours, but can't give vent in tears,
Though troubles come upon me fast and thick;
And though I've done it for the last six years,
'Tis clear I can no longer *go on tick*.

Strikes are the order of the present day,
But while with woe and misery they abound,
'Tis only in a calm, harmonious way
That hour by hour I *strike* the twelvemonth round.

The Czar has struck a blow at Freedom's dome,
And far away prevails the battle's roar;
So I shall do as Britons do, "strike home,"
And, after that, perchance may strike no more.

Proctors who *chase**, and Proctors who do *not**,
Uphold the Clock that's ne'er run down, nor tires,
And, worthy cits, amend the Clock you've got,
Which, like your Mayor, to useful ends *aspires*†.

Some few long-standing debts my works impede,
My waning light, 'tis said, is growing paler,
And now I've told my *tale*; if more you need,
I must refer you to my maker—*Taylor*.

Give, then, your aid! restore my former face,—
Fresh life and action in my work's infuse,—
Wipe off the debts that stand, to my disgrace,
Nor, for these *lines, new lines* to me refuse!

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*The Proctors, Messrs. Chase and Knott.

† The Mayor, R. J. Spiers, Esq.

VIEW OF CARFAX

(From an old engraving by J. Donowell, 1765.)

This view is taken from the end of the Corn Market, between the ancient Conduit and the east end of St. Martin's Church, looking toward Fish Street (St. Aldate's), in which is seen the Town Hall and the front of Christ Church. The piazza on the right is the "Butter Bench." A portion of "Penniless Bench" or "Porch" is seen in the right foreground.

"Carfax" and "Penniless Bench."

At Carfax, a name popularly derived from quatrevois Latin, quadrivium, *i.e.*, four ways, and near to "The Mitre," a water conduit was erected in 1610 by Otho Nicholson, a student of Christ Church. The Conduit formerly stood on the site of the old Bull Ring, and at the junction of the four main streets of Oxford, and consisted of a handsome quadrangular structure of stone, of elaborate design. In 1771 it was, however, taken down, and presented to George Simon, 2nd Earl Harcourt, who re-erected it in Nuneham Park, in the year 1787, where it now stands. Leonard Hutton, writing in 1625-30 (Herbert Hurst, O.H.S.), states: "Mr. Otho Nicholson, a Gent, of London, who, for the publike good both of the Universitie and Citty, builded the same, every Colledge from thence haveing a Cock to their Kitchens, and the wholl Towne recourse thereunto for their Water." A portion of Nicholson's leaden pipe was recently discovered near Lincoln College, and has been secured by the City authorities.

Near to the east end of Carfax church, and erected in 1546, was a sheltered recess (as shown in the illustration), which was known as "Penniless Bench." Here justice was administered by the Mayor and Bailiffs, sitting beneath the low shed, at the bench. This was a well-known place of resort for the idlers or loungers of the City.

John Wycliffe's books were burned here in 1409, and in 1457 those of Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester—in both cases in the presence of the University authorities. Probably here, also, was one of the stopping-places of the cuckingstool, which on June 4th, 1579, the Council ordered "to be made uppon wheels, that hit maye be drawen from place to place, to punishe suche women as shall undecentlie abuse any person of this cytie by words."

From extracts taken from the Churchwardens' Accounts, 37 Henry VIII, 1545, we learn the following:—"Imprimis given in earnest to Higgons the carpenter to make the bench under the church wall, 2d." Anthony à Wood notes: "After which follows all the expenses about it, which amounts to severall pounds," and adds in the margin: "The first building of Pennylesse Bench reaedified with stone pillars July 1667." Peshall adds: "Since pulled down, and instead thereof

an alcove." He also speaks thus :—" Adjoining to the east of the church, is Pennyless Bench. Here the Mayor and his brethren meet occasionally on publick affairs."

In Hearne's *Collectanea* (O. H. S.) we read that on " October 10th, 1598, William Holbert was allowed 20s. yearly to see Pennylesse Bench allwaies kept cleane, and to keep those from the same bench on markett daies and other tymes, who ought not to sit or stand there."

Leonard Hutton in 1625-30 (Herbert Hurst) (O.H.S.) writes :—" At Carfax, on the left hand, under the East end of St. Martin's Church, yee see that Seate, which is called Pennelesse Bench, builded by the Citie, aswell for their solace and prospect every waie, as for the conveniencie of the Market Women in the tyme of Raine."

In Thomas Warton's " Companion to the Guide of Oxford 1762 we read that " in this neighbourhood, adjoining to the East End of Carfax Church, are to be found the imperfect Traces of a Place properly dedicated to the Muses, and described in our Statutes, by the familiar but forbidding denomination of PENNYLESS-BENCH. History and Tradition, report, that many eminent Poets have been Benchers here. To this Seat of the Muses, we are most probably indebted for that celebrated Poem, *The Splendid Shilling* of Phillips : And that the Author of the Panegyric on Oxford Ale was no Stranger to this inspiring Bench may be fairly concluded from these Verses, where he addresses the God, or Goddess, of TICKING,

" Beneath thy shelter Pennyless I quaff
The cheering Cup."

Here many distinguished visitors to Oxford halted, and were received by the City Fathers and the University authorities ; and at this point Queen Elizabeth, both in 1566 and again in 1592, halted and listened to Greek orations ; whilst from Wood's *Life and Times* we learn that on the occasions of public rejoicing the City authorities met in their scarlet gowns, and were entertained with cake and wine and a bonfire, the City musicians meanwhile playing whilst on the leaden roof above the bench.

In November, 1579, it was ordered, and again repeated in March, 1581, that " on everie Sondaye and holydaye the fower Aldermen, the rest of the thirteen, the bailiffs and chamberlins, the common counsell and all other freemen of this cytie shall at the tyme of the ringing of the bell for the sermon come together to the pennylesse bench and staye theare until the commynge of the Mayor or his deputie, and shall from thence, everie man in his degree, orderlie apparreled, accompany the Mayor to the sermon at St. Maries Churche, Christ Churche, Carfoxe, or any other place within the cytie or suburbes where the Mayor shall then go."

The custom of the Mayor and Corporation attending the City Church is still kept on Sundays, the principal officers robing in the Mayor's Parlour in the Town Hall, in St. Aldate's, and proceeding down the High Street to the present City Church, All Saints, the officiating clergyman accompanying the Mayor, and the picturesque group being preceded by the Macebearer, carrying the heavy and ancient mace of the City, of a type dating from the Mayoralty of John Lambe, 1660-61.

On Sunday, September 9th, 1683, Wood records: "The city at Penniless bench and an entertainment of wine, musick, a barrel of ale, and a fire. In the pump below the Star Inn was a tub sat, and presbyter therein preaching; the smart lads of the city marched down the streets with cudgells in their hands, crying for the King and the D. of York, and all the people had York in their mouths, and his health was drank publickly at most halls at dinner." Other mentions are made of bonfires being lit at Carfax, and entertainment of "wine and bisket being given" to the soldiers during their occupation in Oxford, 1685.

On September 3rd, 1687, King James II came to Oxford from Woodstock, accompanied by William Penn, the Quaker, and it is stated that "within the North Gate he found severall poore women, all clad in white, with a flasket of herbs, mostly of camomill, who strew'ed the way therewith, just before the King's horse and retinew, which made a veru great smell in all the street, continuing all the night till the raine came. . . When he came to quatrevois he was entertain'd with the wind-musick or waits belonging to the city and universitie: who stood over 'Penniless Bench'; all which time, and after, the conduit ran claret for the vulgar, which was conveyed up there in vessells."

A very interesting account is given by Wood, including details of the banquet given to the King in the Bodlean Library, the position of the seating and names of the numerous dishes, etc. being given.

The Bench was threatened with destruction in 1711, when it was, however, saved through the exertions of a citizen named John Harris. It was, however, taken down in 1747, but the spot has long continued to be the favourite rendezvous of the citizens.

Thomas Warton, the poet, adds: "We wish that some future genius may arise to lament the change which modern barbarism has produced in the valuable antiquity. Nothing which formerly belonged to it now remains, except two ferocious warriors, clad in coats of mail, originally placed above to admonish the loiterers, by their significant strokes, of the rapid flight of time."

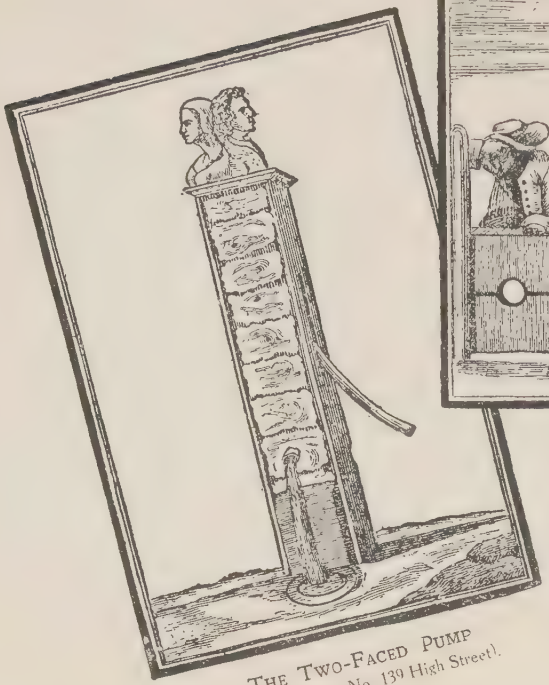
There is a woodcut of the Oxford Pillory and Whipping Post shown in Warton's *Guide*, dated 1764, and we are informed therein that it was a " formidable cruciform structure of wood in the Cornmarket, having three rotund apertures on the vertical, or traverse, Head-board. It is surprising that this edifice should have so long escaped observation in a place of Literature, an edifice with which the learned, and particularly the Poets, according to Mr. Pope, have been often closely connected." (See illustration.)

It is shown on Loggan's map, dated 1675, standing on the side of the old Corn benches, in the centre of the road, a little to the north of the " Cross " Inn, at Carfax.

From Warton's *Guide* we learn that " at no very great distance (from Carfax), in the High Street, we find an antique column of a tetragonal construction, opposite to a venerable Gothic building, called the Black Pot House (now 139 High Street). This column at present supplies the neighbouring inhabitants with water, by means of an engine artfully contrived in the midst of it; and, as it still retains on its top two distinct heads or Bustos, has acquired the vulgar appellation of the Two-Faced Pump " (see illustration).

Herbert Hurst, writing in 1899 on Leonard Hutton's description of Oxford, 1625-30, states :—" Half-way towards All Saints' Church, on the north side, near the site ascribed to a two-faced pump of some celebrity, must have stood Croxford's Hall or Inn, once Romayne Hall. From many documents it appears that in 1229 four shops existed on its west side, seemingly demanding a lane or street with a west border. Between ' The Mitre ' and the western boundary of All Saints' parish there is now no such lane, but Coleburne Lane was at that time continued southward into the High Street, nearly along the west side of the market, as old drawings prove. Elden Hall probably stood close to the eastern edge of the Market, where is now a small shop (formerly occupied by the old " Mitre " Coaching Office), or may have been Messrs. Slatter & Rose's. Croxford Inn was probably on the present site of the western portion of ' The Mitre.' Hurst states : " ' The Mitre ' gateway, as far as can be judged at present, was at first Gille's, and the part at the corner next the Turl was Dagville's." The will of Joane Gille, in 1486, seems to imply this, as it leaves under certain conditions, " to the town and Chamberlaines of Oxford the two tenements on the west side of Dagfieldes-ynne in the parish of All-Hallowes for evermore." Later on the tenement of University College is called that " on the west side," *i.e.*, Elden Hall.

At a short distance south of St. Martin's Church there stood in the fourteenth century a tavern, called " Swindlestock," and subsequently, the " Mermaid," in which, on the



THE TWO-FACED PUMP
(Stood Opposite No. 139 High Street).

THE CARFAX STOCKS.

This Structure formerly stood on the South Side of Carfax Conduit; from whence it was removed to the City Hill, as a more convenient Situation, in the Mayoralty of Thomas Munday, Esq.

Anno MDCCXLIX.

(The above are Facsimiles of Woodcuts from a Companion to the (Oxford) Guide 1760 by Thomas Warton).

THE OXFORD PILLORY AND WHIPPING POST.
Stood in Cornmarket Street. (Last used in 1820)

Festival of St. Scholastica, and on the 10th February, 1354, a serious Town and Gown riot originated, to which a full chapter has been devoted in these pages.

(In the illustration on page 45, showing Carfax, the "Mermaid" Inn can be seen on the right-hand side—immediately behind the "Butter Bench.")

In the *Life of Thomas Hearne* (O. H. S.) we have the following details:—"September 13th (Friday) 1728. The repairing the east end of Cairfax Church, Oxford, cost seventy pounds or thereabouts. The Defect was occasioned by the removing some Buttresses in the Chancell to make the Butterbench, wch was made by the advice of some rash, indiscreet persons who perceived their error too late."

This Butterbench, south of St. Martins (Carfax), at a distance only of the breadth of the street (as shown in the illustration), was a piazza or paved walk with a canopy over it, and at its extremity a room. This is stated to have been for the use of butter-women on market days, as a retreat or cover from the rain.

The Oxford stocks (see illustration) formerly stood on the south side of Carfax Conduit, whence they were removed to the City Hill or mound, as a more convenient situation, in the Mayoralty of Thomas Munday, Esq., in the year 1749.

On July 21st, 1721, the last public whipping at the "cart's-tail" recorded in Oxford took place from Carfax to the East Gate of the city—the length of High Street—on an adventurer who tried to trapan some students of Brazenose to drink the Pretender's health (James I). He was taken to the Castle, tried at the Assizes, and sentenced to be whipped. The public "whipping-post" at which criminals were flogged remained at Carfax for over a century after this, and the "stocks" mentioned above were also in close proximity.

FROM ACADEMIA, OR THE HUMOURS OF OXFORD.

"And passing over Carryfox,
Which is the market-place of Ox-
Ford, where two little Pigmies stands
Such nimble-twiches of their hands;
Just o'er the place where Folks sell butter,
And with two hammers keep a clutter;
It being their business (so belike)
To known, whene'er the Clock shall strike,
A Bell, that's hung ye so between,
That so they might be sure to see 'n;
Alive, sure as a band a band is,
With heads no bigger than one's hand is;
As long, let's see, if I can tell now,
About as long as from my elbow."

Kemp Hall.

Opposite to " The Mitre " is an old timbered archway, which leads to a passage-way, in which is situated a most interesting building of medieval workmanship, viz., Kemp's or Kent's Hall. This structure is possibly unknown to many of the Oxford residents, and, no doubt, has only been viewed by a mere handful of visitors to Oxford, as it is not usually mentioned in the guide-books. It was, up to a few years ago, used as the Police Station, but there is some probability of its being adopted by the City Authorities in the near future, as the official City Museum, for which it is eminently suitable, as it is in the centre of the town, and is, in addition, of great historical interest.

Anthony à Wood makes the following reference to it in his work on *Oxford*, edited by the Rev. Andrew Clark, M.A. : " From hence wee goe up the street to Kemp's Hall, in this parish of All Saints', where now the Chequer In is. Of which, though I find noe great matter of it from record denoting it to be hall by that name, but only by tradition from our antiquary (*i.e.*, Brian Twyne), yet the building on the back side thereof cannot otherwise but assure us that it hath bin dedicated for the use of the gowne. It was in King Henry VIII's raigne the house of Richard Kent, alderman of Oxon (rather, therefore, Kent's Hall), but about the 38 of the same King (1546) (he) sold it (with the stone house opposite to it, where the judges reside at their coming to Oxon) to William Fruer, esquire, divers times Mayor of this city." He also adds a footnote that there is a possibility of (John) Kemp, archbishop of Canterbury, having studied there, and remarks situated in " a lane sometimes on the west of the Chequer In leading into the Jury (Little Jewry)."

Mention may here be made that the Judges no longer make use of the stone house (No. 13 High Street) mentioned above, but they reside on the occasions of their visits to Oxford at No. 16 St. Giles, a great stone house, built by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, for her town house.

Hutton's *Survey of Oxford*, which is based, to some extent, on the Map of Oxford drawn up by Aggas in 1578, and which was published by the Oxford Historical Society in 1899, and (edited by Herbert Hurst,) gives us the following history of this property :—" It is in a part of the High Street

KEMP HALL.

(From a photograph by Mr. H. Minn.)

often called All Saints' Street, but sometimes, more loosely, St. Marie's Street, as in the following 'indenture between Robert the Abbot and the convent of Osney and Richard Kent, Alderman, and Joane, his wife, concerning four shoppes in All Saints' parish (Chequer Inne). These shops were afterwards in the tenure of Edward Freere, about the Chequer inne, and there is mention of the tenement of the Chamberlaines of Oxon, which I suppose is that where the Goldsmith lives, sometimes an old lane.' "

The doorway of the five-gabled picturesque structure has a date, 1637, and the doorway itself, the canopy over, and the interior fitments, are of this date. The double overhang and the irregular and projecting windows, with their quaint brackets, are interesting features, as also the two small oriels, one over the other, which are above the main doorway. Most of the interior work is original, and the stone mantels may be earlier work, possibly inserted in the sixteenth century, when the building was probably altered.

Mr. Harry Paintin, the well-known authority on Oxford topography, has given us notes of the building, and adds that in 1511 the name of Richard Kent appears on the Commission of the Peace. Later in the same year he became Mayor. In 1512 Richard Kent signed an indenture of a Taxation Roll. This Richard Kent is, doubtless, the man to whom Wood refers as occupying Kemp (or Kent) Hall " in King Henry VIII's raigne." Mr. Paintin points out that the Hall is so closely associated with municipal life that " the adoption of this would also secure the retention of one of the disappearing seventeenth century houses which once graced Oxford's streets," and " Kemp Hall would provide a beautiful and dignified home for relics of old Oxford."

St. Mary's Church.

The Church of St. Mary the Virgin was built on the site of an earlier church, mentioned in *Domesday Book*, mainly in the thirteenth century, from 1280 to 1290. It received additions a few years later, when the decorations, windows and turrets were added. The nave of the church was re-built at the end of the fifteenth century, and enlarged early in the nineteenth century, whilst the chancel is said to have been built by Walter Lyhirte or le Herte, Provost of Oriel, 1435-45, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich, 1446-72. Most of the woodwork of the chancel is of the fifteenth century.

The Lady Chapel is the oldest portion of St. Mary's, and it was built in the year 1320, and is called Adam de Brome's Chapel, to whom there is also a tomb in the church. The nave of the church is of the dates from 1490 to 1503, whilst the windows on the north side of Adam de Brome's Chapel are of the date 1510, and in the 'Perpendicular' style. It is related that when Edward II retreated from the battle of Bannockburn, in 1314, he made a vow that, if he reached England safely, he would found a religious house, to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and Oriel College is supposed to be the fulfilment of that vow, and traces of his building are stated to still exist. Adam de Brome held the position of King's Almoner to Edward II, and he was the first Provost and Founder of Oriel College, and also Rector of St. Mary's.

The famous porch, of which an illustration is given, is dated 1637, and of the "Renaissance" style. It is an unusual specimen, showing the influence and application of the "spiral" decoration on a large scale. This porch was carved by the celebrated architect, Nicholas Stone, Master Mason to James I and Charles I, and the design is attributed to Inigo Jones. Laud states: "This year, 1637, the porche at St. Marie's was finisht, at the cost of my chaplayne, Dr. Morgan Owen, which was £230." We learn from *Oxoniana* that before the Schools were erected "the young students held their disputations *in parvisiis* in the porch of St. Mary's Church (*i.e.*, a chamber situated above the porch). There they sat, *vis-a-vis*, one opposite the other. This might be expressed in the Norman French of those times, perhaps, by *parvis*. Hence the expression used for the Examinations, which are called 'Smalls.'" The iron gates are of early

PORCH OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN, OXFORD

(From a photograph by the late Walter L. Spiers, and illustrated in his book on the work of Nicholas Stone (Walpole Society, 1918-9)

eighteenth-century design, and attributed to Paris, of Warwick. The stately tower, dated 1280, is a fine specimen of the "Early English" period, and it was completed in the year 1310.

In Loggan's view of Oxford, dated 1675, is shown, close to the wall of All Souls College, a curious sundial, which is stated to have been erected in 1520.

On the north side there is a two-storeyed building of about the date 1320, built by de Brome, which is called the Old Congregation House, and this is considered one of the most historical and interesting buildings in Oxford. In it the chief business of the University was transacted until the end of the fifteenth century. It is now, however, used merely as a store-room for relics of the church. In the upper chamber of the building the first University Library was commenced about the year 1367. Wood informs us that before that time, however, "some books were kept in chests in St Mary's Church" This library was called after Thomas Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, who presented it in 1320. The collection was added to by the gift of the great Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and formed the nucleus of the Bodleian Library. After the library had been removed, this upper room became known as the "Upper" Congregation House. There originally sat the Chancellor of the University, surrounded by the Doctors and Masters. This scene is depicted in the west window of the church, and is still shown on the University Seal.

In this church, Wycliffe (who died 1384) and his followers preached against the Church of Rome; and later on, in the sixteenth century, the three martyrs, Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, were there brought before "Convocation."

Amy Robsart, the ill-fated wife of Lord Dudley, Earl of Leicester and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, lies in St. Mary's Church. She was murdered on September 8th, at Cumnor Hall, near Oxford, and buried September 22nd, 1560. Details of her death are given in Sir Walter Scott's book, *Kenilworth*. She was buried with great pomp and ceremony, and the body lay on a hearse in the church, her funeral being attended by large numbers of the University and City. There is an inscription to her on the chancel steps, showing the position of her tomb. There is also a tomb, with effigy, to Edmond Croston, who died December, 1507. Dr. Radcliffe, the Founder of the Radcliffe Library, was also buried at the base of the organ loft, on December 3rd, 1714.

It is related of Dr. Kettel, in *Aubrey's Lives*, that he once concluded a sermon at St. Mary's thus:—"But now I see it is time for me to shut up my booke, for I see the Doctors' men come in, wiping their beardes, from the Ale-house."

This was possible, as previous to 1827 the pulpit was placed in the centre of the nave, and opposite the west door of the church, so that he could see them from the pulpit. We learn that " 'twas their custom in sermon-time to goe there, and about the end of the sermon to returne to wayte on their masters."

As will be seen in the old illustration by J. Donnowell, in 1765, and shown opposite, St. Mary's Church was then surrounded by a high wall. This was built in 1637, but it was removed in 1864. The footwalk, between the high wall and the posts, as shown, was called " the Parade," in Thomas Warton's " Companion to the Guide of Oxford (1762)."

In 1349 there were riots on the occasion of the election of the Chancellor, when the Northern party opposed the Southern party. John de Wylliot, of Merton College, was the favourite for the post, and the crowd is stated to have broken into St. Mary's. During the struggle between the two parties several on both sides were killed. Wylliot was, however, successful, and a special Bull was obtained from the Pope to put a stop to the meetings in the church from that year. The Church and adjacent Hall had been put to many uses and misuses prior to then, and for some time a portion of the Convocation buildings adjoining the church had been used for the Encænia, and similar large gatherings of the heads of the University, prior to the building of the Sheldonian Theatre, by Sir Christopher Wren, 1663-68, in which such meetings now take place.

In the year 1354 scenes were witnessed in Oxford which have, fortunately, been of rare occurrence, as on that date the great riot of St. Scholastica took place, of which detailed mention is made in another chapter. A riot is also recorded to have taken place in the year 1506, opposite the church, again between the Northern and Southern parties; and a certain Richard Simon, a priest, is stated to have had amongst his pupils a certain Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, who had been selected to cause a disturbance against the Government by claiming the Crown.

On such occasions, when feelings ran high between the members of the University and the citizens, it was the custom to summon the former by ringing the bells of this church. The citizens, in their turn, rallied their forces by sounding the bells of St. Martin's (Carfax). The six bells of St. Mary's are considered very beautiful, and are decorated with unusual workmanship. Most of them date from the early seventeenth century, and were cast by Newcombe, of Lancaster, 1612. One of them bears an inscription, with two lines of music around the waist.

A View of part of S.t Mary's Church [a] All Saints Church [b], the Conduit [c] Carfax Church [d] &c. in the University of OXFORD

Vuë d'une partie de l'Eglise de S.te Marie [a], de l'Eglise de Tous-les-Saints [b], du Conduit [c] de l'Eglise de Carfax [d] &c. dans l'Université d'OXFORD

VIEW OF HIGH STREET FROM ST. MARY'S CHURCH TOWARDS CARFAX.

(From an old engraving by J. Donowell, 1765.)

On the right is seen the sign of the "Old Coach Office," with "The Mitre" and "the King's Head" above it. On the left is seen the "King's Coffee House" (probably "Tom's" afterwards the "King's Arms" Tavern), whilst on the same side, above it, are the signs of "The Bear," "The Chequers," and other old inns.

VIEW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE FROM ALL SAINTS CHURCH.

Lincoln College.

Lincoln College was founded by Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, in the year 1429. He denounced the doctrines of Wycliffe's teaching, and it was to combat this heresy that he founded his College, to provide "a succession of able men, well instructed in the Scriptures and the Fathers, and competent to prove the existence of purgatory and the intercessory power of the Church." Like the founders of New College and Magdalen, Fleming obtained the site for his buildings without cost, and also secured an endowment by the acquisition of the churches of St. Michael, All Hallows, and St. Mildred. The two former were henceforth to be served from the College and the latter was dismantled, and on its site, together with that of the churchyard, the new College was erected.

Fleming's charter is dated from Lyddington, Rutland, December, 1429. Thirteen months later he died, and was buried in his Cathedral at Lincoln. The task of carrying out Fleming's building plans was assigned to John Forest, Canon of Lincoln, who in 1437 erected the existing Hall and Library and the north and west sides of the principal quadrangle. In 1464 the third Rector, John Tristropp, applied for and obtained a sum of money from the executors of Thomas Beckington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who had left money to be utilised for pious purposes, and with this the eastern side of the quadrangle was completed, and a return section commenced, that on the south. These buildings bear Beckington's rebus, a beacon on a tun, and contain the rooms occupied by John Wesley, when he was Fellow of Lincoln, nearly three centuries later. In 1474 Archbishop Rotherham was so impressed by a sermon by the Rector that "at the conclusion of the discourse he rose up and instantly promised the Rector and the Society that he would give them effectual assistance." A new Charter and Statutes were given to the College in 1480, and with Rotherham's benefaction the southern side of the great quadrangle, which bears his crest, three bucks trippant, was completed. The second quadrangle, commenced in 1609, from contributions by John Rotherham, a descendant of the former, was finished in 1629-31 by John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who also erected the Chapel and the eastern portion, and this,

with the exception of the New Grove buildings and the new Library, practically completed the College as we know it to-day.

From the outset the revenue of Lincoln College has never been large. At the death of the Founder the total annual income was about ten pounds, but benefactions gradually increased. In 1444 William Finderne, of Childrey, presented to the College 140 acres of land in Botley parish, and also a notable sum of money. With the latter, property was purchased at Cowley, Littlemore and Iffley, including the famous Mill, loved by artists, which, after an unbroken continuity of service extending over six centuries, is now pulled down.

Mr. Stephen Warner, in his book on the History of *Lincoln College, Oxford*, states that the foremost bequest to the College was the Dagville-Parker Bequest, and gives the details as follows :—" By his will, dated June 2, 1474, William Dagville, a rich citizen of Oxford, bequeathed his inn, called ' Dagville's Inn " (known in 1341 as ' Romyns Hall,' then as ' Croxford's Inn,' and now as the ' Mitre Hotel '), the ' Christopher Inn,' (now part of Messrs. Elliston & Cavell's premises), and a considerable amount of other property, to his young wife for life, with a gift over of the " Mitre " to his daughter Joan, and of the ' Christopher ' to the Rector and Fellows of Lincoln College. If Joan died without issue, then all the property was to come to the College. Margaret, Dagville's widow, married again, and in 1489, as Margaret Parker, widow, she leased the ' Mitre ' and the ' Christopher ' to the College, at a yearly rental of ten marcs. These two inns, with a garden now occupied by the city market, were the only Dagville property which ultimately found its way to Lincoln."

Dagville also directed his " body to be beryd in Oure Lady Chappell above the awter in the Church of Allholowyn in Oxonford " ; and the house known as " Dagville's Inn," " I will that the Rector and Fellows of Lincoln College shall have for ever .. .. to kepe every yere my mynde."

The architectural features of the College are not of a striking character. The Hall, erected in 1437, is, however, unusually interesting, from the fact that its main features are identical with what they were when they left the builder's hands in the early decades of the fifteenth century. It was not till late in the seventeenth century that an effort to provide a screen was attempted, through the benefaction of Daniel Hough, Fellow 1598, who died in 1644, and directed that his bequest should become effective " within two years of a settled peace in this kingdom of England." The scheme, however, did not materialise till 1699-1700, when, through

THE BURSAR'S LODGINGS AT LINCOLN COLLEGE, BUILT IN 1464 to 1467, OPPOSITE "THE MITRE" STABLES.

(From a pencil sketch by Walter Gandy.)

the liberality of Crewe and others, nearly £300 was expended on a screen and the wainscotting of the Hall. The Bursar's Lodgings (illustrated opposite) were built in 1467.

The Chapel, the munificent gift of Lord Williams, was consecrated in September, 1631, by Richard Corbett, Bishop of Oxford. It consists of four bays, and the north and south walls are pierced by as many three-light windows, of unusually fine design, the tracery of which is enriched with original stained glass, of singular charm and beauty. The fine six-light east window is conspicuous, not only for its architectural excellence, but also for the splendour of its glass enrichment. Like that in the north and south windows, this is contemporary with the building itself. The stonework is unusually early and pure in character, and may possibly have been the work of Holt or Acroyd, who were employed at Wadham, or the Bentleys, who constructed the five-order tower at the Bodleian, and the four-order gateway at Merton.

The woodwork, dating from 1631, though inferior to the fine example of Trinity College Chapel, is of high character, the figure-work particularly so, and Lincoln is a unique example of an " unrestored " College Chapel in Oxford.

In the Middle Ages the relations between the " Town and Gown " were far from harmonious, and on more than one occasion Lincoln College was directly concerned with this never-ending conflict. This was conspicuously the case in the early decades of the sixteenth century, during the Rectorship of John Cottisford (1519), who was also Vice-Chancellor. On his appointment to the latter post, Cottisford endeavoured to revive some ancient customs that had probably fallen into disuse, and also enforced some new regulations that had recently been made by " father in God, Tho. Lord Cardynall of England " (Wolsey). In 1530 the complaints of the City found expression in a petition " To the Kyng Owr Sovereyne Lord," in which the grievances of the City were set forth at great length.

One charge preferred was : — " Item, that John Cottysford, Commysarye of the Unyversite, the ij Proctors wt theyr servaunts, and dyvers other persons, did wt forse stoppe and take awaye X semys of see fyshe from Richard Yong, repyer, and pyched them in the parishe of Saynt Mary's, and ther sette it to sale by hys bedyls and theyr wyves, and so kepte the market ther, contrarye to the olde custome which hathe ben usyd tyme out of mynde of man." Also, " Item, the sayd John Cottysford, Commysarie, a nother tyme send for the foresayd William Falofelde, and demaunded of hym a dewtty that he shulde geve hym a pynt of wyne of every hogyshead that he dyd sette a broche, for hys taste. And the sayd William answered and sayd that he knewe of now

suche deutty, yf he knowe it he wold gladly geve it." Falofelde was committed to prison " to the grete losse and hynderans of the sayd William."

One of the foremost opponents of the Commissary's policy was the Mayor, Michael Hethe, and consequently he was singled out for condign punishment, and on " the iiij day of August, in the xxij yere of your most noble rayne, the saide Commissary, caused on Michael Hethe, then beyng Mayar of the sayd towne, to be opynly denownsyd and publichyd excommunicat in every pariche church of Oxford aforesayd, and also denownsed and publichyd al those Oxford aforesayd, and also denownsed and publichyd al those to be excommunicat and acursyd wheche shuld drynk, or company wt the sayd Mayor, by reason wherof the sayd Mayar, avoyding of further inconveniens, avoydyd fro thens of the sayd towne."

As usual, the University won, and it was not till recent times that the old hostility between the University and City became extinguished.

There was over the gateway of Lincoln College, until about the year 1740, a leaden grotesque, like that on Lincoln Cathedral, of which John Pointer (1749) writes :—" The image of the Devil, that stood many years on the top of this College, gave occasion for that proverb, ' To look on one, as the Devil looks over Lincoln.' "

> " The Devil looking over Lincoln ;
> Their faults, be sure, he kindly winks on,
> The other Colleges he squints on ;
> A word of pity 'twas, I swear,
> That our young master was not there."

ALL SAINTS CHURCH.

VIEW OF ALL SAINTS CHURCH (SOUTH-WEST CORNER) AND A PORTION OF "THE MITRE."

T. Humphrey Ward in his notes re Oxford, illustrated by John Fulleylove, R.I., in 1889 (*plate* 8) *writes :—*

"Our illustration contains the weather-worn South Front of All Saints', and the famous 'Mitre' Hotel, unchanged in appearance from what it was in the days when the London Coaches used to rattle up to its doors. It still holds to its old fashioned ways, save that it decorates its front with more flowers than would have been thought necessary by a plainer generation. It still receives such visitors as prefer the old to the new; Undergraduates still dine there, not without fear of Proctors."

All Saints Church.

From Anthony à Wood's description of this church we read that " this Parish Church, dedicated on the 12 of the calends of November in the octaves of St. Martin, standeth within the wall and on the north side of the High Street betweene St. Martin's and St. Marie's. It is commonly called All Hallows, but in Godstow book, Allhalowin ; and in St. Frideswyde's, All Saints of Certhull, as appears from a charter of one Reynold de Hulmo, 1262, who stiles himself therein ' rector ecclesiae Omnium Sanctorum de Certhull ' in Oxon, though elsewhere in the same book he leaves out that addition. But by what name soever it hath bin, or now is called, 'tis certaine that 'tis of an ancient standing, and was numbered among those churches that King Henry I gave and confirmed to the canons of St. Frideswyde's, Anno 1122. Not many years following, St. Hugh, bishop of Lyncoln, made it a vicaridg (which was as I guesse, about the year 1190), causing also an annuall pension of 40s. to be paid from it to the said canons. In that manner it continued till the advowson thereof was granted, togeather with a messuage near this Church, by that priory to Henry (Burwash), bishop of Lyncoln, 20 Edward II (1320). Thus it seems it continued till the uniting of this church with Lyncolne College in one body by Richard Flemmyng, bishop of Lyncoln (1420-31), and then this chapel, with the chantry therin, was united also to the same. Afterwards (because that colledge was left imperfect by the founder) Thomas Rotheram, bishop of Lyncoln, who undertook to finish it and gave therunto statutes, had a conference with the mayor and brethren concerning a ratification of the said chapple to his college. Who at last conceding therto, did by their indenture of composition (William Dagvyle being then maior), dated May 1, 15 Edward IV. (1475) order it thus :—that one of the fellows therof should celebrate divine service yearly in the said chapel, that in his prayers there he should remember the welfare of the founders and benefactors of his colledge, and also pray for the good estate of the maior and comminalty of Oxon, for which his service he should receive an annual salary of 40s. from the said college."

Further other duties were instituted, including that the " maior alwaies for the time being should have the nomination of the chapleine from the society of Lyncoln College on the feast of the Circumcision (Jan. 1)."

One of the chapels of the church, viz., that of St. Anne (the Mother of Mary), was built in the beginning of Edward the Third's reign, by William de Burchester, or Bicester, who was several times Mayor of the city, and once the owner of " The Mitre " property. He died in the year 1341, leaving " several revenews for its support." Nicholas Burchester, his son, at the time of his death left " severall messuages in Oxon for the foundation of a chantry therein, committing the execution therof to Richard Cary, severall times maior of Oxon, and who had married his sister Alice ; but he also dying (July, 1349) before he could fulfil his will, the business was taken in hand by the executors, viz., one John Falle, John Cary his son, and John Langrish. Who it seems, examining how the case stood both from the wills of Nicholas Burchester and Richard Cary, did in a manner settle it, though not soe fully as the testators themselves did intend."

There was an Obit and Anniversary to " William de Dunham, rector of the same church, about the year 1255, who left a house in St. Mildred's parish, near to the church, which he had of John Pady, a burgess of Oxon, that his anniversary of his death might be performed by the canons of this place." This John Pady, who died in 1230, was the father of Philip Pady, who owned " The Mitre " during King Henry III's reign.

There is also an " Obit " mentioned by Anthony à Wood, and founded to be performed, which relates particularly to Joane Gill (Gylle or Gille), the daughter and " heire " of William Dagvyle. This is no doubt the " Obit " which is mentioned in the will of William Dagvyle, in which he is stated to have bequeathed " The Mitre " to Lincoln College in 1476. (See chapter on early history of " The Mitre.")

The Glovers celebrated Mass in a Chapel of All Saints on Trinity Monday, and their ordinance bound them to find a light in Trinity Chapel, viz., eight tapers and six torches, " to be honestly kept to the praise of the Holy Trinity."

The Barbers Guild, at their incorporation in 1348, at the order of the Vice-Chancellor, agreed that they would yearly maintain a light in Our Lady's Chapel at St. Frideswide, certain means being stipulated for raising a fund to maintain this light.

On Sunday, March the 8th, 1699, the spire of the ancient church fell through the centre of the edifice, destroying nearly the whole building. The present church was then erected,

VIEW OF ALL SAINTS CHURCH (NORTH SIDE) FROM TURL STREET, SHOWING THE HANDSOME ELEVATION DESIGNED BY DEAN ALDRICH IN 1705.

from designs by Dr. Henry Aldrich, the accomplished Dean of Christ Church (who was also the architect of Peckwater Quad in Christ Church.) It has been considered a very beautiful piece of workmanship and design. A brief was obtained in 1705, and it was finished in 1708, by a general subscription. This is the collegiate church of Lincoln College, and it is a curacy in the gift of the College, held by one of the Fellows. In the chancel, seats are specially reserved for the use of the Rector and Fellows of the College.

It is related that St. Edmund of Abingdon (founder of St. Edmund Hall) was one day preaching in the churchyard, when a violent thunderstorm came on. The congregation deserted the preacher, affrighted by the war of the elements, but he desired them to stay, and prayed that he might be allowed to finish his discourse without interruption; after which, though the rain washed down the High Street in torrents, not a drop fell in the churchyard. How St. Edmund "preached in Alle Halewene Churchyard" is described in an old black-letter ballad of the reign of Edward I.

"Ye fretted pinnacles, ye fanes sublime,
Ye towers that wear the mossy vest of time;
Ye massy piles of old munificence,
At once the pride of learning and defence;
Ye cloisters pale, that, lengthening to the sight
To contemplation, step by step, invite;
Ye high-arched walks, where oft the whispers clear
Of harps unseen have swept the poet's ear;
Ye temples dim, where pious duty pays
Her holy hymns of ever-echoing praise;—
Lo! your loved Isis, from the bordering vale,
With all a mother's fondness, bids you, Hail!—
Hail, Oxford, hail! of all that's good and great,
Of all that's fair, the guardian and the seat;
Nurse of each brave pursuit, each generous aim,
By truth exalted to the throne of fame;
Like Greece in science and in liberty,
As Athens learned, as Lacedemon free!"

—Thomas Warton's *Triumph of Isis*
(18th Century).

Town and Gown Riots.

The most famous Riot which has occurred in the City of Oxford is the one which took place in 1354, on St. Scholastica's Day, February 10th, and the following days, of which fuller mention is made in other pages.

In Anthony à Wood's *Antiquities of Oxford*, written in the seventeenth century, mention is made of several Town and Gown riots, but details are brief. From Boase, on *Oxford*, we read there was a minor fray in 1536, and that in 1640 and the following year " the mixed political and religious townspeople declared itself in tumultuous assemblies and riots, that reminded beholders of the days when the soldiers and citizens were wont to slay one another under the walls of the ' hospices ' or ' hostels.' " Surely these were lively and " spacious times " when Varsity men amused themselves by " shuting arrowes " at offending citizens, to " ther gret lete, hyndrans, and hurte." The tower of Carfax (the old City church) was the stronghold of the townspeople, from which such missiles were directed. (See notes on Carfax Church.)

It is stated that in the year 1640 the townsmen started a riot against the tyrannies of the University laws, as set up by Laud, and they refused to fix the price of candles and other commodities sold in the City, and to obey the Statutes. The bells of Carfax were ordered to be rung, and there is no doubt there would have been a sanguinary riot but for the timely intervention of the Mayor and the capture of two principal offenders. The trouble appears to have been due to the citizens supporting a disreputable woman who apparently was being conveyed to the spinning-house by one of the Proctors. The disturbance was again renewed on the following night, " to the music of St. Martin's Belfry (Carfax Church) and the indescribable terror of elderly ladies. A great number of the citizens, however, continued in the streets, making great noises and inciting others to rise, till about twelve of the clock at night."

From Wood's *Life and Times* we learn that on the occasion of the election of the Mayor, on September 15th, 1673, Anthony Hall, a vintner who had been chosen, appeared on

Drawn and Engraved by R. Cruickshank. *Published by Sherwood, Jones & Co. August 2nd, 1821.*

TOWN AND GOWN or the BATTLE OF THE TOGATI and the TOWN RAFF in the HIGH STREET, OXFORD, showing the Oxford "Old Fly" coach (*The English Spy*, 1825).

the balcony, and in thanking the electors he offered the townspeople English ale and beer. Thereupon the scholars hissed, and the townspeople turned them out. This caused a considerable scuffle, and several noses and arms were broken in the *meleé*. The disturbances are said to have lasted for a week.

The next 150 years seem to have been more orderly, and little information is available, but it is recorded in *The English Spy*, written in 1825, that the old "Mitre" sign and lamp was pulled down in the course of a "Town and Gown," when the master of "The Mitre," Thomas Peake, was told to open his doors to assist the "Gown," and to send bludgeons, etc. An interesting chapter is given on these episodes, and the conversation is written in full in the rough dialect of Mr. and Mrs. Peake, who appear to have hailed from Somerset.

The riot on this occasion was a most severe and bloody one, and the "Master" of "The Mitre" was persuaded to supply the "Gown" with broom handles and old chair-legs, and even the cook's rolling-pin, all of which were thrown out of the windows with a promise from Bill Mags, the waiter, that "he would go and forage for more ammunition."

During the time of the Reform Riots of 1832 "there were further skirmishes, when it was reported to a certain Master of Balliol, Dr. Jenkyns, who was then sitting down to dinner, that a Mr. Denison, of Oriel, had been killed. On his rushing out to endeavour to speak to the townspeople, a heavy stone was pitched into the middle of his body, and he fell back into the arms of his servants."

From this time, however, such riots became merely a memorial, the 5th of November being generally selected as a fitting day for suitable commemorations. The ceremonies are, however, stated to have become soon stereotyped, and rarely displayed features sufficiently novel to attract the attention of the journalist. In 1835, however, the fountain of Christ Church quadrangle was found to be paved with door-knockers and broken fragments of sign-boards, trophies of a "Gown" victory.

In 1867 a fatal collision occurred, in which a Brazenose undergraduate was killed, this being on one of the Nov. 5th anniversaries. No ill-feeling apparently then existed between the University and the City, but there was discontent among the poorer inhabitants of the City at the continued high price of bread. Some foreign workmen, newly discharged from work at Balliol College, joined in the fight, and the leader of the "Town" was dragged into Christ Church, and ducked in the fountain. This riot continued for three days. Special constables were sworn in, and the military had to be summoned.

Within recent years " Town and Gown " rows have practically ceased, even on the 5th of November and on the occasions of elections. " No longer does St. Martin's ring out defiance to St. Mary's. Mayor and Chancellor no longer marshal their respective forces. No more do Proctors and Aldermen clutch each other in the death grip, and blooming ' Batchelors ' fall thick as leaves in Vallombrosa. Time has tempered even the lofty disdain of the Bedell for the Baillive."

Before closing these episodes, however, it may be mentioned that in the early 'nineties, particularly at election times, there have been seen riotous scenes in the High Street between the two parties when they have met in that street or in the Cornmarket. Such scenes have been to the danger of the general public who did not wish to take part in them, and visitors at " The Mitre " have on occasions viewed from the windows rank upon rank of undergraduates advancing to meet the " Town," with arms linked, and clearing the roadway of all strangers or stragglers, the first row being led by young noblemen of the University. Scuffles and free fights have occurred opposite " The Mitre " gates, and a good many heads have been broken, and headpieces lost. On one occasion the mob and disturbance was so great that it was found necessary for the heavy gates of the Hotel to be closed, and in doing this an unfortunate man had his foot impaled on the iron spikes which run along the bottom of the gates, and the foot was only released by removal of the iron spike.

Recent election times, however, have passed off without incidents, and the only rivalry now between " Town " and " Gown " is the desire to further the interests of the University and the City, and their respective inmates.

St. Scholastica's Day, February 10th, 1354.

On the south side of Carfax Church, in the fourteenth century, stood a tavern called the "Swindlestock," and subsequently the "Mermaid,"* in which, on the festival of St. Scholastica, 10th February, 1354, a serious "Town and Gown" riot originated in a quarrel between John de Croydon, the landlord, and a vintner, and two members of the University, Walter de Springheuse and Roger de Chesterfield, who objected to the quality of the wine he offered to them. Several angry words passed between them, and at length the vintner, losing his patience, gave them in return "stubborn and saucy language." The scholars thereupon threw the wine and the cup at his head. Upon hearing the noise occasioned by this quarrel, several neighbours entered the tavern and encouraged the vintner. The quarrel, however, aroused the townspeople to such an extent that orders were given for the town bell at St. Martin's (Carfax) Church to be rung, to summon them together. This being done, they at once set upon the scholars. The Chancellor of the University, who tried to appease the crowd, was shot at, and he, perceiving the danger his scholars were in, caused the University bell in St. Mary's to be rung. Thereupon the latter armed themselves with bows and arrows, and maintained the fight till nightfall. This raged fiercely the whole of next day, and the citizens, reinforced by a band of upwards of two thousand countrymen, and headed with a dismal black flag, killed and wounded several members of the University, and, it is stated, even scalped some of them. The battle continued the following day also, and it meant death to any University man who appeared in the street without sufficient protection.

From the well-known book, *Oxoniana*, giving notes on Oxford, we extract the following paragraph, which has reference to this fray on the third day, and which will serve to show the bitterness of the feelings between the combatants :—

"The said townsmen, about the sun-rising, having rung out their bell, assembled themselves together in a numberless

* In the illustration on page 45, showing Carfax, the "Mermaid" Inn can be seen on the right-hand side, immediately behind the "Butter Bench."

multitude, desiring to heap mischief upon mischief, and to perfect by a more terrible conclusion that wicked enterprise which they had begun. This being done, they with hideous noises and clamours came and invaded the scholars' house(s) in a wretchless sort, which they forced open with iron bars and other engines : and entering into them, those that resisted and stood upon their defence (particularly some chaplains) they killed, or else in a grievous sort maimed. Some innocent wretches, after they had killed, they scornfully cast into houses of easement, others they buried in dunghills, and some they let lie above ground. The crowns of some chaplains, viz., all the skin so far as the tonsure went, these diabolical imps flayed off, in scorn of their clergy. Divers others, whom they had mortally wounded, they hailed to prison, carrying their entrails in their hands, in a most lamentable manner. They plundered and carried away all the goods out of fourteen inns or halls, which they spoiled that Thursday. They broke open and dashed to pieces the scholars' chests, and left not any moveable thing which might stand them in any stead ; and, which was yet more horrid, some poor innocents that were flying with all speed to the body of Christ for succour (then honourably carried in procession by their brethren through the town, for the appeasing of this slaughter), and striving to embrace and come as near as they could to the repository wherein the glorious Body was with great devotion put, these confounded sons of Satan knocked them down, beat, and most cruelly wounded. The Crosses, also, of certain brethren which were erected on the ground for the present time, they overthrew and laid flat. This wickedness and outrage continuing the said day from the rising of the sun till noontide and a little after, without ceasing."

The majority of the men managed to escape to the country, while the rest had to remain locked within their own College gates.

In this affair no less than forty students and twenty townsmen were slain. In consequence of this outrage, letters of excommunication were drawn up, and were caused to be read in every parish church in Oxford for several days ; the Mayor (then John de Beresford)† and Bailiffs were imprisoned in the Tower of London, but were then brought before a tribunal, and were condemned to attend annually at St. Mary's Church, with sixty of the chief burghers (this being the number of the slain), on the anniversary date, whilst a mass was

† A brass is in All Saints Church to John de Beresford (Mayor of Oxford in 1348, 1349, 1350, 1354). and Agnes, his first wife. It is stated on the inscription that " he was Captain of the citizens, and Prime Promoter of the Great Conflict on St. Scholastica's Day, 1354. Died 1361."

celebrated in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors for the souls of the slain students. Each hereafter had to "offer up, singly, one penny," to be delivered to and counted by the Senior Proctor, standing within the altar rails. The sum collected was then distributed to forty poor scholars, and the residue of the obligation given to the Curate of St. Mary's. In failure of this, the City had to forfeit 100 marks to the University.

This ceremony was duly performed until the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, after the University had sued them 1,500 marks, due for fifteen years' lapse; but it was urged by the City that it literally meant Masses, and these being done away with by the Reformation, the ceremony and fines should be discontinued. The heads of the Queen's Council, however, did not agree in opinion with the citizens, but ordered that a sermon or communion (with the pennies) should be exchanged for the Masses. In 1681 (January 13th) Alderman W. Wright, a burgess of the City, made a motion to a Committee to have the formality of St. Scholastica's Day laid aside. The service and the offering, however, continued up to 1824, as an expiation of an offence committed upwards of 470 years before, in the days of King Edward III, special oath then being substituted and administered by the Proctors, in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor, the City authorities agreeing to hold intact all the ancient privileges and to maintain the rights of the University. William Slatter was then Mayor, and the deed or instrument releasing the citizens was dated the 7th day of February, 1825.

Reference is made to this fray in the Will of Edward Wodeward, dated 1497, when we read that there was a specified bequest as follows:—"Item, I bequeth unto the towne of Oxford my shoppe at Carfaxe which is of the yerely rent of XIIIs. IVd., truly to be devided on Seynt Scolast' day amonge the threscore and thre persons, to be payde with the rent of Vs. IIId. that Thomas Hampton and John Ufford gave unto the foresaid threscore and thre persons, after every mannys degre and no peny abated."

The Turl, or Sylver Street.

The word "Turl" is surmised to be from the Saxon word, signifying a narrow passage or gate, and Herbert Hurst, in his *Oxford Topography*, 1899, Oxford Historical Society, states that at the end of Turl Street, and opposite to Trinity Gate, there was formerly a 'twirl,' or turnstile, *i.e.*, a cross on a post in a narrow doorway. In a City deed of August 18, 1614, the gate is called 'The Turning Gate or the whole (?) in the wall.' The older term for the street was, 'The Street by All Saints' or 'From All Saints to St. Mildred.' (Part of Lincoln College now covers the site of St. Mildred's Church.)

Of this street, Wood relates: "Wee come to a little postern leading from the city to Balliol College and Durham (now Trinity) College, called Trill Gate or Turl Gate, from a 'trill', or, as some call it, a 'wherle,' somtimes ther to keepe horses and other cattle out of the city, especially when a faire formerly, was kepte in Canditch." (This being the name of the "ditch" outside the wall of the City at this point.)

"The Turl" is mentioned in a City lease book of about 1590, in which it is written as "the hole in the wall called 'The Turle'"; but a few years later the phrase is, "the turning gate in the hole in the wall over against Trinity College." It was therefore considered to refer principally to the twirling gate in the footway which led through the City wall from Ship Street, within the City, to Broad Street, outside the Walls. The famous postern, Turl Gate, was pulled down June 3rd, 1772, by a Dr. Walker, who lived by it, and who pretended that it was a detriment to his house.

The Rev. H. E. Salter says: "The street now known as 'The Turl' had no fixed name in the Middle Ages. It is true that we find it called St. Mildred's Street in 1363, but this name was used of three streets, and was never universally accepted."

An Oxford Guild or Trade token of the seventeenth century, probably of a coffee-house keeper, was issued by "Edward Hunt in Oxon at the Turle Gate," to which reference is made in the chapter on Oxford Trade Tokens.

In Wood's *Diary* he describes how Lord North, in 1690, was conducted from Trinity College "through the Turl (gate)," and so to Exeter College and Brazenose. Hearne also mentions

on February 13th, 1731, that " Mr. Munroe, of Trinity College, married the daughter of the widow, Stockley, who keeps a coffee house in the Turl, Oxford " : but we have no trace of this particular house. The name had then extended from the gate to the whole of the narrow footway, and it was not used for the road from Ship Street to All Saints until much later. In the map of Oxford in 1750, and the survey of 1772, it is only the part from Ship Street to Broad Street ; and the Act of Parliament of 1781, " for making improvements within the City of Oxford," says that " If the street or passage called ' The Turl ' was made sufficient to admit carriages, a very convenient communication would be made between Broad Street and High Street," and gave power to buy the houses on both sides of " the passage called the Turl."

We learn that in 1786 the Street Commissioners ordered informations to be laid against " such of the inhabitants as shall neglect to have the pavement swept before their respective doors four times a week, and against persons suffering postchaises, carts or waggons to remain in the public street, and particularly in ' Lincoln ' and ' Jesus ' College Lanes, on market days." In an old Sale sheet, dated 1803, relating to the lease of " The Mitre," the term Lincoln Lane is again used, and it is evident from this that up to the early part of the nineteenth century, Turl Street, or parts of it, had several appellations. In the *University Guide Book*, 1824, we find the street is called " Turle " Street, and this name was probably affixed to it about the years 1785-1796, when a number of the houses were pulled down, and it was widened. Fortunately, the authorities did not find it necessary to pull down the houses at the High Street end, and the narrowness of the " passage " at this end of the street is still evident by the close proximity of the eighteenth century Church of All Saints and the walls of " The Mitre."

The word " Sylver Street " was also applied to " Turl Street," and this was probably derived from the fact that the High Street end of ' The Turl ' was partly occupied by the shops or stalls of the " aurifabria," viz., the place where the gold and silversmiths' Guilds were situated, this " having bin formerly a great profession in Oxford " and Wood states that " it was not unlikely they were a corporation of themselves in those times." He adds : " Their shops were, as is aforesaid, in All Saints parish, and as I guess, on the north side of the (High) street betweene S. Martin's and All Saints' Church, and reached to and partly in the street which I have in North-East Ward called Sylver Streete."

St. Michael's, The Bocardo, and "The Martyrs."

"At North Gate and at South Gate, too, S. Michael
guards the way;
While o'er the East and o'er the West S. Peter
holds his sway."

Near to "The Mitre" is St. Michael's Church, formerly called St. Michael's by the North Gate. It is one of the four Oxford churches mentioned in the *Domesday Book*, and probably existed long before the Conquest. It seems to have been repaired and altered by Robert D'Oilgi at the time of William the Conqueror, and the tower, part of which is of the date 1074, and part dated 1150, was brought within the line of the early fortifications. The church was apparently rebuilt in the thirteenth century, and a south aisle added in 1260, and a chantry chapel in 1342.

Up to 1771 the North Gate and a prison, called "The Bocardo," adjoined the church. The celebrated martyrs, Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, were confined there. They remained together, however, but a short time, for Ridley was taken to the house of Alderman Irysh, and Latimer to that of one of the Bailiffs of the City; Cranmer remained in Bocardo. On the 16th of October, 1555, Ridley and Latimer were brought to the place outside the walls of the City, called Canditch, and were there burnt. They suffered death with courage for the religion they professed, in the presence of the chief magistrates of the University and City, and a multitude of other spectators. Cranmer, being in Bocardo, ascended to the top thereof to see the spectacle, and kneeling down, prayed to God to strengthen them. On the 21st of March, 1556, Cranmer was brought to the same place, and there also burnt. A detailed account of their martyrdom is given in the Life of Anthony à Wood.

Opposite to the supposed spot of the martyrdom there still exists a "bastion" of the old city wall and no doubt it was from the room therein that Cranmer witnessed this scene.

The City ditch where they were burnt was close beneath the old tower, known as the "Martyrs'" Tower, or "Bishops' Hole." It formed part of the Bocardo Prison. Whilst a drain was being constructed very near the spot where the cross is now placed in the roadway, to mark the locality of the martyrdom, and opposite the centre entrance to Balliol College, in Broad Street, the excavators came upon a stake about six feet below the surface, surrounded by a large quantity

ANCIENT NORTHERN ENTRANCE INTO OXFORD, WITH THE BOCARDO PRISON OVER THE GATE.

(From Malchair's engraving of c. 1770, prior to its removal, and illustrated in Rixae Oxoniensis, published by Mr. Basil Blackwell.)

The old houses at the present corner of Ship Street are shown on the right with " St. Michael's by the North Gate " behind them. At the window over the main arch is seen a cord and bag intended to convey donations and other contributions to the debtors and others imprisoned in " the Bocardo." The " kennel " or gutter in the centre of the road is shown in this print. (See chapter " Inter Muros.")

of blackened and charred wood, and this was therefore supposed to have been the spot where the martyrs were subjected to their "baptism of fire." The stake was purchased by the Rev. J. C. Clutterbuck, of Long Wittenham, and presented to the University by him, and it has since been placed in a glass case in the Ashmolean Museum.

Of this celebrated Gateway and Prison, Anthony Wood writes: "Come we now to Bocardo, or the North Gate of the city, remembred, as I have said before, by John Anglicus in St. Frideswide's dayes, about the year of Christ 700." He adds the following:—

"This was the strongest gate of the city; as indeed by good reason it should, having no river before it, as the other hath. It was well strengthened on each side with a strong, bulky tower; and backt on with another gate, both formerly well fenced with a port-close or port-cullis to let downe before; as alsoe a military engine erected over it, through which they could cast downe anything obnoxious to the enemy approaching therunto. Such a gate soe strenthened was called 'porta macho-collata,' which was a passage over it like to a grate through which scalding water or any other weighty substance may be cast uppon the assailliants. Besides this there were two great folding dores hung thereon, made strong with barres of iron nailed upon them; as alsoe a massie chaine that crossed the outward gate. By which we cannot otherwise imagine its pristine beauty and strength, not only for fortifications, but for battlements, statues and armes theron; which afforded great delight to strangers that cam that way. And soe without doubt it might have continued, but, the Barons' Warrs ceasing, halcion days appeared and our swords became rustie; and this place, for want of use, fell into the hands of the Mayor and bailives, who afterwards made it a common prison for debters and malefactors belonging to their owne city, which for the same use continueth to this day; and a prison for scollers for little faults. . . Now whether or noe 'Bochord' or 'Bocordo' were put to such uses as a library and a place for sale of books when our University was in Bellositum, *i.e.*, now Bewmont (Beaumont Palace), to which they joyne close to each other, which was before this gate was built or any thoroughfare there; I shall leave it to your sower criticks in antiquityes to chew upon; and proceede onward."

The *University Guide* states that in 1824 an interesting memorial of these distinguished martyrs, and of their prison and the old gateway, has been preserved by Alderman Fletcher. When Bocardo was pulled down, in 1771, this gentleman caused the door of the cell in which the martyrs had been confined to be removed and fixed up in the City Gaol, with a suitable inscription.

Oxford under Archbishop Laud's Chancellorship.

The Accession of James I, in 1603, was marked by an outbreak of the plague in London, which spread to Oxford, and Wood dates the outbreak of drunkenness in the University from this visit, sack at the time of Queen Elizabeth being taken more as a cordial than a usual liquor ; and a " heinous crime it was to be overtaken with drink, or smoake tobacco, it now became in a manner common."

A further outbreak of the plague followed King Charles's Accession, in 1625.

Seccombe & Scott state that: " It is noted in Dr. Langbaine's Collections, under January 23, 1617, John Shurle had a patent from Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, for the office of ale-taster to the University, and the making and assizing of bottles of hay. ' The office of ale-tasting requires that he go to every ale-brewer that day they brew, according to their courses, and taste their ale, for which his ancient fee is one gallon of strong ale and two gallons of small wort, worth a penny.' "

On April 22nd, 1619, the Fellows of the University apparently met in solemn conclave and warned Samuel Wilson, one of Lord Leicester's scholars, and a " bachelor," that he should not enter any house in the town " to take tobacco," and that " he should neither drink nor smoke in his room or in other parts of the College on pain of expulsion."

Boase informs us that " there was a constant question about licensing ale-houses," and Wood adds :—" The number of victuallers being incredible. The cure is not by punishing the immediate delinquents, either by imprisonment under the Statute 5, Ed. VI, or by whipping, but by indicting the brewer he shall deliver into any taphouse not licensed. I hope the justices of the town will not hinder this good work." There were then ninety-four unlicensed alehouses within the city.

Archbishop and Chancellor Laud, early in this century, attempted to limit the number of licensed ale-houses, as it appeared that there were then fully three hundred of them in Oxford. On May 10th, 1623, the Mayor and other

Magistrates of Oxford informed the Privy Council that they had suppressed many useless alehouses kept by persons with other means of gaining a livelihood, and they would look after those allowed to remain. We are informed by Hearne in his *Diary* that there were only " five taverns in Oxford in the year 1626. They were kept by Francis Harris, William Turner, Thomas Hallom, Wm. Grice, and Humphry Budwit (or Bodicote) ; the signes were the Mermayd, the Swan ; the other three were only Bushes." In later dates the validity of licenses of the following were questioned : Humphrey Bodicot in 1634, William Morrell, (of the " Crown Inn,") in 1661, and Richard Walker of the " Kings Head " in 1688. The Laudian Statutes of the University dealt with many minute points of detail, which are not now the subject of special rules, and the mention of the Proctors' Black Book, and of impositions still remaining in the Statute Book, remind us of former times. Laud took in hand the work which Wolsey had hoped to do a hundred years before. As Chancellor, in 1634 he set Statutes which put an order to the older and freer organisation and concentrated power in the hands of the Colleges and their heads, and penalties were enforced for games, hunting with dogs, carrying of muskets, and no actors nor shows of gladiators were allowed without leave.

Jeaffreson states that " in January, 1640-1 the townsmen started a riot against the tyranny of the University Laws, as set up by Laud, and they refused to fix the price of candles and other commodities sold in the City. This, however, was stopped in good time, and did not develop to any great extent."

The University at the time of Edward III had the sole keeping of the assize of bread and drink in Oxford, and the government and correction of all manner of victuallers and victual tippling-houses there. This power continued for two hundred years without interruption, until the Statute 5 and 6 of Edward VI, which gave power to two justices of peace in every shire or city to license alehouses : by colour of this Statute the Mayor and Aldermen, being justices, had licensed alehouses.

From records of Dr. Ralph Kettell (President of Trinity College, 1563-1643) we read of a certain " Mr. Bathurst—an indifferent scholar, red fac'd, not at all handsome. The Doctor's fashion was to goe up and down the college and peepe in at the key-holes to see whether the boys did follow their books or no. He seldome found Bathurst minding of his book, but mending of his old doublet or breeches. He was very thrifty and penurious, and upon this reason he caried away this curious creature. . . He observed that

the howses that had the smallest beer had most drunkards, for it forced them to goe into the towne to comfort their stomachs ; Wherefore Dr. Kettell alwayes had in his College excellent beer, but better to be had in Oxon, so that we could not goe to any other place but for the worse, and we had the fewest drunkards of any howse in Oxford.

" He was constantly at lectures and exercises in the hall to observe them, and brought along with him his hower-glasse, and one time, being offended at the boyes, he threatened them that if they would not doe their exercise better he ' would bring an hower-glasse two howers long.'

" He (also) was irreconcileable to long haire ; called them hairy scalpes, and as for perewigges (which were then very rarely worne) he believed them to be the scalpes of men cut off after they were hang'd, and so tanned and dressed for use. When he observed the scolar's haire longer than ordinary (especially if they were scholars of the howse) he would bring a paire of cizers in his muffe (which he commonly wore), and woe be to them that sate on the outside of the table. I remember he cutt Mr. Radford's haire with the knife that chipps the bread in the buttery-hatch, and then he sang (this, it is stated, is in the old play of Grammar Gurton's Needle) :

> " And was not Grim, the collier, finely trimm'd ?
> Tonedi, Tonedi.' "

Laud also objected to long hair, or wigs, and his care for discipline was of much service. He was alarmed at hearing that " The Mitre " Inn was a meeting-place for recusants, " seldom without some scholars in their company, upon pretence either of alliance or acquaintance." Greene, the host, in 1640, was a Papist, and Laud said, " I have complained to the Lords about him, and hope there will be a letter sent from the Board to the town to call for an account of the whole business." As the meetings of Catholics were held ten years later, the Board's letter to the town, if sent, failed to produce any tangible result.

About the year 1603 there was a Statute against bachelors and undergraduates wearing boots, and it is said that the Vice-Chancellor, on meeting a Bachelor of Arts in his boots, told him that they should cost him ten groats (this being the fine). " I thank your Worship," said the bachelor, " my shoemaker told me they should cost me ten shillings."

We read from Seccombe & Scott, *In Praise of Oxford*, that " in visitynge the religious studenttes, emongyste all other injunctions adjoyned that none of them for no maner cause shall cum within any taverne, in, alhowse, or any other howse whatsoever hit be, within the towne and the suburbs of the

same, upon payne onse so taken by day or by nyght to be sent imediatly home to his cloister whereas he was professede. Without doubte we here say this acte to be gretly lamentede of all the duble honeste women of the toune and specially of ther laundres that now may not onse entere within the gaittes, and much lesse within ther chambers, whereunto they wer ryght well accustomede. I doubt not but for this thyng onely the honeste matrones will sew unto yowe for a redresse. . . This Sonday by nyght we shall make an ende; for all this day we repaire to colageis for the redresse of division and complaintt put unto us. . . We fynde here all men applying and glade to accomplishe all thynges."

Under Laud, too, we learn that "the Westminster supper at Christchurch on December 20 deserved to be 'better looked to, that no strong and unruly argument be drawn from that topic place'; the citizens quarrelled with the University about the night-watch—a traditional quarrel—and the Chancellor must make peace." In 1631 he issued orders to check the extravagance of apparel "boots and spurs, together with their gowns," which the young men of the period affected, and to enforce the due respect of juniors towards seniors. Statutes were to be put in force against the "haunting of inns and taverns, especially of masters of art, that should give younger youths better example." Tact and a strong hand soon re-established discipline, and by 1636, it is stated, Mr. Secretary Coke congratulated the students on the revival of studious manners, and stated that the University in this matter, which before it had no paragon in any foreign country," had now "gone beyond itself."

We learn then that the halls and chapels were full of pictures, and of rich plate, soon, however, to be melted down; the gardens and groves were in beautiful order, and the bowling greens well kept. Music was studied deeply as a science, antiquity and every country being ransacked for good music, and every gentleman pretending to some knowledge of it.

In June, 1641, Archbishop Laud resigned his Chancellorship of the University of Oxford, was impeached for high treason and sent to the Tower, and executed in 1645, having been Archbishop from 1633. He had, however, in a short period of a few years, to a very great extent established peace and order in Oxford, and the Laudian Code, as it came to be called, marked an epoch in University Law.

Episodes of the Seventeenth Century and Royalist Oxford.

"Now you will find the World hath been so tost,
The Music of our Academe is lost;
For since the State in Civill Warres has burned,
Our silken Hoods have all to Scarfes been turned;
'Mongst us ther's scarce a Verse, nay Line, without
'Charge!" "To the Front!' 'To the Reere!' and 'Right about!'"

MUSARUM OXON, EPIBATERIA, OXFORD, 1643.

(From *The Clerk in Fiction*, S. F. Hutton.)

Much has already been written by others in respect to the summoning of Parliaments and Royalist visits to Oxford, but the following brief extracts and episodes connected therewith, which relate particularly to places mentioned in other pages of this volume, may be of sufficient interest to warrant their being quoted :—

In August, 1605, James I visited Oxford for six days, when there were great days of pageantry. Accompanied by his Queen, we read, and Henry Prince of Wales, he entered the City on horseback with a large retinue of attendants, constituting perhaps the most gorgeous display that had ever appeared in Oxford. The King was preceded by the Duke of Lennox, bearing the Sword of State, and followed by a magnificent throng of riders, including the highest in the land amongst the ladies, and sixteen earls, and a "mob of barons and knights whose wealth and rank were not superior to their lineage and fashion." He was freely entertained with speeches, music and drama, and at St. Mary's Church was entertained by the peculiar flattery of "humming" instead of applauding, which when explained to him contented him well. From this came the now familiar term "humbug," which implies to "impose upon by insincere praise." Sixteen years later he was again entertained in Oxford with more drama, of which, however, he did not approve, and it is said he was scarcely restrained from leaving the Hall in which it was being performed.

Charles I, with his Queen, Henrietta Maria, and a splendid company of nobles, paid a brief but stately visit to Oxford in the fifth year of his reign; and in 1636 they again

visited Oxford, and " were received by the chiefs of the University and town on the Woodstock Road, whence they were conducted through lines of vociferous gownsmen and populace, buildings decorated with gay flags and streamers, and scaffolds dangerously burdened with spectators in their holiday clothes, to Christ Church, which house of royal foundation divided with St. John's, Chancellor Laud's College, the chief labours and honours of entertaining the courtly throng." Great banquets were held in this College, and plays acted, in which " new inventions " were introduced, such as " partitions much resembling the desks or studies in a library," giving ingress and egress for the actors. The partitions, as Wood says, who was living at this period, " they could draw in and out at their pleasure . . according to the nature of the scene, wheron were represented churches, dwelling-houses, palaces, etc., which for its variety bred very great admiration. . . All these representations being the first that were used on the English stage, and therefore I have been the more punctual in describing them, to the end that posterity might know that what is now seen in the playhouses at London belonging to His Majesty and the Duke of York is originally due to the invention of Oxford scholars." The Queen was so pleased with the representation of *The Royal Slave* (this being the play which was then acted) that we read, some weeks later she requested Chancellor Laud to procure from Christ Church a loan of the attire and scenic apparatus, in order that her own players might act the same drama before her at Hampton Court.

In 1642 Charles appealed to the University for funds and silver to enable him to carry out his plans against Parliament, and so early as January, 1640-1, Cavaliers began to enter Oxford, to deposit their arms and ammunition. On Saturday, August 13th, 1642, a Proclamation was read in the Oxford Market-place, which was speedily followed by military operations, to the disadvantage of the College lectures and learning. Oxford then became the headquarters of the Royalists, and the City was prepared for siege, bridges being closed with timber logs, whilst special trenches were dug in order to prepare to meet those forces of Parliament which were stated to be approaching the City.

From the *University Newes in Oxford* during the years of King Charles' occupation in Oxford in this year we have the following :—" Exceeding true newes from Oxford, Sept. 7, 1642. *Oxford* schollars have carried great store of Stones to the top of the Tower of *Maudlins* Colledge (sic) which joynes to the Bridge with intent to throw them downe upon the heads of those that shall oppose them. The Scollars are all turned Cavaliers, having to their Commanders the Tapster of the

Roe-Buck and the Chamberlains of the *Red Lion*, with the assistance of a *Barber*. These commit severall outrages on the inhabitants of the Towne, being countenanced by the Principles of the Colledges as tis generally conceived, if this be the fruit of learning, good Lord deliver us."

Shortly after the battle of Edgehill, on October 23rd, 1642, we learn that the survivors returned to Oxford, under the leadership of the King and his two young princes, and at " Penniless Bench " they were received by the Mayor " with fair words and money, which he was very glad to pocket."

Between 1642 and 1646 the Royalist Parliament, the majority of the House of Lords, and the minority of the House of Commons, came to Oxford. Here also was the Court, with the King. Oxford, we learn, then ceased to be the seat of learning, and was converted into a camp. University work was practically suspended. Very few lectures were given, and except for a great number of " honorary " degrees the register of degrees would be almost blank for these years. Anthony à Wood gives a vivid picture of this period. The City assumed every day more and more the aspect of a fortress. The Colleges, emptied of their scholars, were turned into Royal Palaces, barracks and arsenals. The King and the young prince and chief members of the Staff were lodged in Christ Church, whilst the Queen, who came in July, 1643, was lodged at Merton, a backway being constructed between the two Colleges, the opening of which is still to be seen.

In 1643 Oxford again suffered from the plague, and in 1644 from a dreadful fire, which began on 6 Oct, " about two of the clock in the afternoon, in a little poore house, on the south side of Thames street (leading from the north gate to the high bridg) occasion'd by a foot soldier's roasting a pigg, which he had stoln. The wind being verie high, and in the north, blew the flames southward very quick and strangly, and burnt all houses and stables (except S. Marie's Coll.) standing between the back-part of those houses, that extend from the north gate to S. Martin's church, on the east, and those houses in the North Baylie, called New inn lane, on the west : then all the old houses in the Bocherew (with the Bocherew it self) which stood between St. Martin's church, and the church of St. Peter in the Baylie, among which were two which belong'd to A Wood's mother, besides the stables and backhouses." Nehemiah Wallington saw the judgment in this. " At the last Lord's day in the morning, some of the soldiers had appointed a merry meeting at a fiddler's profane taphouse near the Red Lion by the Fish-market, with music, drink and tobacco, one drinking an health to the King, another to the next meeting of Parliament. Thus

by drunkenness, music, scurrilous songs, cursing and swearing, profaning God's holy day. About three o'clock in the afternoon the fire began to appear, which by the just hand of God hath burned about 330 houses."

" The glory wert thou of our land,
Oh, Oxford ! and honoured thy name ;
How is it (I can't understand),
Though the same, that thou are not the same ? "

This stanza is stated to have been one of a long series of verses written by Dr. John Allibond, Master of Magdalen College School, and subsequently Vicar of Bradwell. Mr. Harry Paintin informs us that " the poem is supposed to have been a description of the sad state into which Oxford had fallen subsequent to its surrender to Fairfax, which took place on St. John-the-Baptist Day, 1646, when on June 24th King Charles's forces surrendered to the Parliamentarians, and three thousand men marched from the City, being preceded by Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice a few days earlier, others being left in the City, to the number of two thousand, until the conquering forces had taken possession.

" In this princely land of all that's good and great,
Would Clio seek the most distinguished seat,
Most blest, where all is so sublimely blest,
That with superior grace o'erlooks the rest ?
Like a rich gem, in circling gold enshrined,
Where Isis' waters wind
Along the sweetest shore
That ever felt fair Culture's hands,
Or Spring's embroidered mantle wore,
Lo ! where majestic Oxford stands."

—Thomas Warton
(18th Century).

"The Mitre" Inn in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

In 1640, we are informed that "'The Mitre' Inn was the general rendezvous of all the recusants, not in this shire only, but in the kingdom, seldom without some scholars in their company, upon pretence either of alliance or acquaintance. Greene, the host, a professed papist, is not of our body, but a townsman, and licensed by them to keep an inn. . . I have complained to the Lords about him, and hope there will be a letter go from the Board to the town to call for an account of the whole business," says Chancellor and Archbishop Laud.

In the reign of King James II, in 1685, the City of Oxford, for so long the stronghold of monarchical principles, was agitated by passions which it had never before known. The King, confident of his power to restore England to the Pope, placed a Roman Catholic dean in Christ Church, and encouraged Obadiah Walker to fit up a chapel in University Chapel for the daily Masses. But it is stated that the students had a constant habit of chanting satirical ditties under Walker's windows, and some of the fragments of the serenades which then disturbed the High Street have been preserved. The burden of one ballad was thus:

"Old Obadiah
Sings Ave Maria," etc.

Apparently, it was found necessary for troops to be sent to Oxford, to keep the peace, and to enforce submission to the University.

Varsity life was at this period far from being free from reproach. This is attributed by Anthony à Wood to the multiplication of "Ail houses" and Inns (there were then 370), and was also, no doubt, to a great extent due to the troops who were then in the City. He gives several references to the "Miter-Inn" and to the Papists, of which we give a few examples, extracted from his *Life and Times*.

Sept. 16th, 1659.—"One Kinaston, a merchant of London, with a long beard and haire over-grown, was at the Miter-Inn, and faigning himself a Patriarch, and that he

came to Oxford for a modell of the last reformation, divers royallists repaired to him, and were blest by him, viz., Joh. Ball, Gilb. Ironside, and Hen. Langley (all of) Wadham coll. Bernard Rawlins, a glasier, was also there, and crav'd his blessing on his knees, which he obtained. Joh. Harmar also, the Greek professor of the University, appeared very formally, and made a Greek harangue before him. Whereupon some of the company, who knew the design to be waggish, fell a laughing, and betray'd the matter. It was a piece of waggery to impose upon the royallists, and such that had a mind to be blest by a patriarch instead of an archbishop or bishop, and it made great sport for a time, and those that were blest were asham'd of it, they being more than I have set downe. Mr. Will. Lloyd, . . was the author of this piece of waggery, as he himself used to make his braggs."

Owing to this episode having been found out by the Dean of Christ Church, Dr. Owen, Lloyd was forced to abscond, but he in later years became successively Bishop of St. Asaph, Lichfield and Coventry. We also learn that George Wharton, the astronomer, noted this episode in the Almanac of 1661, and called the patriarch "Jeremias."

Nov. 26th, 1659.—"Hen. Stubbe, of Ch. Church, sitting in the upper chamber of his friend, Will. Sprigg, (fellow of Linc. coll) opposite the back-gate of the Miter-inn, a soldier standing there and discharging his gun, the bullet came thro' Stubbe's haire, and miss'd him narrowly."

"Joan (John) Albert Schack de Witteman (a well-known Orator and Philosopher) coming to Oxford purposely to live there, and make use of the Vatican, fell sick at his arrivall, in the Miter inne, where dying soon after (1st Nov., 1669) was with great lamentation buried there (in All Saints) and accompanied to his grave by his countriemen."

A black marble tablet to him is in All Saints Church, on the South Aisle.

On July 21st, 1671, Anthony à Wood records a call upon Mr. Sheldon at the Mitre, with Sir Littleton Osbaldeston and Sir Thomas Penyston. Mr. Sheldon then told A. W. that he had a great love for the study of antiquity, and offered him cuts for his book if he had occasion to require them. Sheldon was, however, a zealous Papist, and Wood, being found often in his company, was esteemed a Papist also, which he found to his discomfort on more than one occasion.

On December 1st, 1678, Dr. Nicholas, the Vice-Chancellor, with a beadle and two men, visited A. Wood at his lodging, when he was accused of Papacy, and was told that he kept correspondence between Mr. Sheldon's family and the Mitre Inne in Oxford.

June 14th, 1683: Thursday.—"Mr. Samuel Clerk's daughter, dancing in the Mitre Inn, with Brasenose men in boy's apparel, seized on next morning in her bed by proctor Arthur Charlet."

July 19th, 1683.—"The young widow of Mr. Ravenscroft took a guinea at the Mitre Inn from Mr. Ralph Sheldon, of Beoly (Worcs.), conditionally that she pay him five guineas at the day of marriage (Mr. Sheldon had offered to bet that she soon would be married again), in the presence of Mrs. Sheldon, Mrs. John Digby, and myself (à Wood)."

We find mention of other visits of Ralph Sheldon and Anthony à Wood on other occasions at the Mitre.

August 23rd, 1683: Thursday.—"About four in the afternoon the body of Edward Conway, Lord Conway, late one of the Secretaries of State, came into Oxford, in a hearse drawn with six horses, followed by five mourning coaches, also drawn with six horses. The Mayor and Common Council met body at East Gate. The body laid in State in his chariot in the Court of the Mitre Inn that night."

Dec. 21st, 1683.—"This day, about 3 in the morning, Mrs. —. Lasenby, the hostess of the Mitre, having about 3 hours before been most strangely affrighted by 3 rude persons, Tho. Baker, M.A., All Souls, (Richard) Aldworth, M.A., All Souls, Ralph Oliffe, M.A., All Souls, (Edwards of St. John's not among them, but there by accident), these having been drinking at the Mermaid Tavern, newly opened, after it had been shut a quarter of a year, came drunk to the Mitre, were let in by a boy then up; They came, as they pretended, to eat something, the boy said they were all in bed, they enquired where Mrs. Lasenby lyed, the boy shewed the window (which was a lower window) they thereupon awakened her, and desired to have some meat dressed, she said 'twas late, and would not, or could not rise, whereupon they called her strange names, as Popish bitch, old Popish whore, and told her, she deserved to have her throat cut, whereupon being extremely frighted, she fell into fits, and died at 3 in the morning, the coroner afterwards sate, and the masters were examined by the vice-chancellor."

December 4th, 1688: Thursday.—Mr. T. Thorpe, a Papist, and master of the Mitre Tavern, was arrested for saying that "he hoped to see Oxford in ashes before Christmas, and that he should wash his hands in the Earl of Abingdon's blood." Security was given for his appearance by Mr. Kimber, of Holywell, and Ch. Harding, in St. Toll's (both well-known Catholics). "This was in the morning; in the afternoon the rabble and boys, to the number of 200, went to every popish house and broke the windows, first the Mitre, where Thorpe lived; Kimber in Holywell, and Harding behind the church."

February 7th, 1690-1 : Saturday.—" John Forster, M.A., fellow of All Souls College, son of John Forster, brewer in Westminster, died at the Mitre Inn late at night, after immoderate drinking. Buried at night in All Souls' outer Chapel."

November 15th, 1692.—" Benjamin Browne, junior proctor, of Brasenose, about ten at night, went to the Mitre to look after Scholars, and went into a room where four troopers were drinking (several troops of horse being then quartered in Oxford). The troopers forcibly kept him there till midnight and made him pay the reckoning—4/6. His man went to call assistance, and four came with staves to rescue him. The soldiers kept them out."

Early in the eighteenth century, Thomas Hearne, in his *Diary*, records his visits to the Mitre Inn, where he met Mr. and Mrs. Blount, of Mapledurham, and Mr. and Mrs. Blount, of Orleton, and " some other truly and virtuous and good people of the Roman Catholic persuasion," introduced by Mr. Sexton, of Grays Inn, " a man of excellent learning, and who acts as attorney to many Roman Catholics."

Thomas Hearne also records the following :—

On April 4th (Monday), 1726, he reports : " Last Saturday night, about nine Clock, happened a Fire at the Mitre Inn in Al-hallow's Parish in Oxford, occasioned by a Candle in the Stables without a Lantern. It burnt vehemently, but great Assistance coming in, and the Engine playing well, and the Wind being very still, it was exstinguished, without doing much damage besides burning the Stables."

On August 15th (Mon. 18 Kal. Sept.), 1726.—" Last night came to Oxford from Warwickshire, where he hath been to view his Estate, my Friend, Dr. Richard Rawlinson, and I was with him at the Mitre several hours. . . He was present at the Queen's Delivery of her first Child, the P of W, and was then very near the Queen. This Prince is an extraordinary fine Child."

Oxford Coffee Houses.

"Coffee which makes the politician wise, and see
Through all things with his half-shut eyes."
—POPE: *The Rape of the Lock.*

We learn that coffee was first served in London at the "George and Vulture," off Lombard Street, in the middle of the seventeenth century; also at the "Rainbow," 15 Fleet Street; but, from contemporary records, it was evidently considered to be a nuisance, as, in the year 1667, James Farr (or Fry), a barber, and at the time proprietor of the "Rainbow," was "presented" by the Inquest of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West "for making and selling a sort of liquor called coffee, whereby, in making the same, he annoyeth his neighbours by evill smells, and for keeping of fire for the most part night and day, whereby his chimney and chamber have been set on fire, to the great danger and affrightment of his neighbours." James Farr issued token money in the year of the Great Fire (1666), and is supposed to have adopted the sign of the Rainbow to show that his premises were unharmed.

In 1650 competition appears to have sprung up with the alehouses in Oxford, and "coffey" houses were opened principally by the Jews. Newspapers and written news-letters and pamphlets were supplied to the politicians who frequented these coffee-houses. Charles II tried to close them in 1675, but had to recall his proclamation, as both parties found them convenient places for meeting and talking. Tea was the ladies drink; the slang name for it was "Catlap." The act of 1660 charged a duty of eightpence on every gallon of chocolate, sherbert, or tea made for sale, while coffee and foreign spirits were only charged fourpence. Henry Savill, writing on August 12th, 1678, complains of friends "whose buttery hatch is not so open, and who call for tea instead of pipes and bottles after dinner—a base, unworthy Indian practice."

Wood frequently refers to Oxford coffee houses, and says: "This yeare (1650) Jacob a Jew opened a coffey house at the "Angel"* in the parish of S. Peter in the east, Oxon, and there it was by some, who delighted in noveltie, drank. When he left Oxon, he sold it in Old Southampton buildings in Holbourne neare London, and was living there 1671." "Cirques Jobson, a Jew and Jacobite borne neare Mount Libanus, sold coffey in Oxon. in an house between Edmund hall and Queen's coll corner" in the year 1654. Whilst in

* The "Angel" was pulled down in 1866.

A MAD DOG IN A COFFEE HOUSE.

(*By J. Rowlandson, March 20th,* 1809).

1655 ' Art. Tillyard, apothecary and great royalist, sold coffey publickly in his house against All-soules coll. He was encouraged so to do by som royallists, now living in Oxon, and by others, who esteem'd themselves either Virtuosi or Wits,' " (We learn that Sir Christopher Wren was among these.) " This coffey house continued till his Majestie's returne and after, and then they became more frequent, and had an excise set upon coffey."

" The fashion of drinking coffee in public prevailed in Oxford immediately upon its introduction into England, and continued to a late period ; Tom's (on premises now occupied by Messrs. Rowell & Sons) being frequented by the most gay and expensive (including Tom Warton, the poet, and Dr. Johnson). In 1759, Horseman's (now No. 104 High Street), nearly opposite the house of the principal of Brasenose (now on premises occupied by Mr. Sanders) received the members of Merton, All Souls, Corpus, and Oriel. (These premises were known in Wood's time as the ' Salutation ' Inn—see page 88.) Harper's, the corner house of the lane leading to Edmund Hall, those of Queen's and Magdalen ; Baggs's, a stone house at the corner of Holywell, was used by New College, Hertford, and Wadham ; and Malbon's, a diminutive tenement some feet below the present street at the north-east corner of the Turl, was filled from Trinity, and by members of the neighbouring colleges."

From the *Oxford University and City Guide* of 1824 we also learn that near to Magdalene Hall (now a portion of the Indian Institute) was placed Seale's Coffee House, which was probably also well patronised by the members of the latter Colleges.

The Rev. J. Woodroffe, in his eighteenth-century *Diary*, adds the following notes :—1763. July 26th : " Paid Baggs at the Coff. House (a very impudent Fellow) a little Bill of 0 . 6 . 7. *N.B.*—I do not intend dealing with him again very soon for his Impudence to me yesterday morning. Item. (1774. July 7th.) " For Tea at Dick's Coff. H. between the acts pd. 0-0-8."

Boase reports that in 1679 Robert Pauling, draper, was chosen mayor for the ensuing year, and " Whereas all mayors in memory of man used to be mealy-mouthed, and fearful of executing their office for fear of losing trade, this person is not, but walks in the night to take townsmen in tipling-houses, prohibits coffea to be sold on Sundays, which Dr. Nicholas, vice-chancellor, prohibited till after evening prayer, viz., till five o'clock ; but this R. Pauling hath been bred up a Puritan, he is no friend to the university, and a dissuader of such gentlemen, that he knows, from sending their children to the university, because that, he saith, 'tis a debauched place, a rude place of no discipline ; he will not take notice of

quaker's meetings, when he is informed that there is such, but a Papist he hates as a devil."

In 1656 Wood, who did not love coffee houses and considered them an unmixed blessing, put the question: "Why doth solid and serious learning decline, and few or none follow it now in the university? Because of coffea-houses, where they spend all their time; and in entertainments at their chambers, where their studies and coffea-houses are become places for victuallers, also great drinking at taverns and ale houses (there were then said to be 370 in Oxford), spending their time in common chambers whole afternoons, and thence to the coffea-house."

He also adds: The students' "aime was to keep dogs and horses, to turne their studies and coleholes in(to) places to receive bottles." Some few years later the Vice-Chancellor ordered the coffee-sellers not to open their coffee-houses on Sundays nor permit people to drink it in their houses, but, we are informed "at 5 (of the) clock (on Sundays) they flocked the more."

In Thomas Hearne's *Collectanea* (O.H.S.) we are informed that in 1699 by order of the Vice-Chancellor nine coffee-men of Oxford were "warned not to sell in their houses the liquors or drinks called Brandy, Rosa Solis and Usque Baugh."

Hearne also mentioned on February 13th, 1731 that "Mr. Murroe of Trin. Coll. married the daughter of the widow Stockley, who keeps a Coffee House in the Turl, Oxford," but we have no trace of this particular house though it may have been "Malbon's," mentioned above.

An Oxford Guild or Trade token of the seventeenth century was issued by "Lawrence Short, near New Colledg in Oxon," showing a hand holding a coffee-pot. (See chapter on Oxford Trade Tokens.)

From Terrae Filius in 1726 we learn that the "Smart" "of the period was accustomed to come every morning between ten and eleven to Lyne's Coffee-House, and to again appear at Lyne's in the afternoon, from whence he adjourned to Hamilton's at about five. He then goes to chapel, to shew how garterly he dresses, and how well he can chaunt."

A. D. Godley, in his book on "Oxford of the Eighteenth Century," gives us the following extract concerning "Smarts" of that period, and taken from the diary of Mr. Erasmus Phillips, of Pembroke College. In July he "went to the Tuns with Tho. Beale, Esq.," and other from Pembroke College, "where Motto'd, Epigrammatiz'd, etc., like any 'Wits' of the day at a London coffee-house."

He records also later how he "went with Mr. Tristram to the Poetical Club at the Tuns, where met Dr. Evans, Fellow of St. John's, and Mr. Jno Jones, Fellow of Balliol, member of the Club. . . . Drank Gallacia wine, and was entertained

with two Fables of the Doctor's composition, which were indeed masterly in their kind. But the Dr. is allowed to have a peculiar knack, and to excell all Mankind at a Fable."

The existence of coffee-houses seems, however, to have had great advantages, for it is stated that, besides additions to the libraries of Radcliffe and Bodley and the Colleges, there were many libraries founded in them, " for the benefit of such as have neglected or lost their Latin or Greek, as there are here books suited to every taste, so there are liquors adapted to every species of reading, thus :—amorous tales may be perused over Arrack punch and Jellies ; insipid odes over Orgeat or Capilliare ; politics over Coffee ; divinity over Port ; and defenses of bad generals and bad ministers over Whipt Syllabubs. In a word, in these libraries, instruction and pleasure go hand in hand, and we may pronounce, in a literal sense, that learning no longer remains a dry pursuit."

From *A Companion to the Guide of Oxford*, by Thomas Warton, 1762, we learn that Inns were also called Tipling Houses ; and that the Libraries in Coffee houses were " conducted by Females who, though properly the Sub-Librarians, have usurped the right of their Husbands in the execution of this Office."

" Social meetings," Godley tells us, especially of political partisans, in the eighteenth century, were held " in the numerous coffee-houses of the town, or such houses as ' Antiquity Hall,' or that bearing the sign of ' Whittington and his Cat,' the resort of Hearne and other ' honest ' men. Sometimes a College would have its own particular house of call,—not all, one may hope, like the favourite haunt of the Fellows of Balliol at the end of the seventeenth century, ' over against Balliol College, a dingy, horrid, scandalous alehouse, fit for none but draymen and tinkers.' "

The large shop in the High Street now occupied by Messrs. Rowell & Son was formerly " Toms " coffee-house. The front portion, we are informed by Green, was the general room, but the back room was the sanctum of dons, and Mr. Wyatt (who formerly occupied these premises) used to point out the Chippendale chairs which had been there more than a century, and tell how the room was always known as " The House of Lords," set apart for men like Tom Warton or Dr. Johnson. The chairs had been sat on by many a learned talker, while he and his listeners enjoyed their pipes and coffee. In the seventeenth century these premises were known as the King's Arms. They were occupied in 1751 by a Captain Jolly, a well-known coach owner, who probably also rented the adjoining Coach Offices. In the *Newsmen's Verses* for 1769 it is stated that " Captain Jolly keeps the Mitre " (see verses, page 99) having moved there or taken on additional premises.

The "Salutation Inn,"

104 HIGH STREET, OXFORD.

Almost every square foot of land that was enclosed within the ancient walls of Oxford has a long history, and in many cases a record that can be traced for centuries.

This is conspicuously the case with High Street, whose "streamlike windings" and noble architecture have commanded the just and informed admiration of successive generations, and of pilgrims from every nation.

Almost under the shadow of St. Mary's, and exactly opposite Brasenose College, built and endowed during the century that was destined to be epoch-making in its far-reaching effects, is located the premises now known as 104 High Street.

During the greater part of the sixteenth century, and possibly till a later period, the house was known as the Salutation Inn, and was occupied by a family of the name of Wood, not connected with the family of the great Antiquary of that name, but as Wood himself is careful to point out, one of them was "sometime servant to the father of A.W."

On September 2nd, 1611, Thomas Wood, of St. Mary's parish, was married to Martha Howse, of the adjoining parish of St. Peter-in-the-East.

Forty-seven years later Anthony à Wood has recorded: "In the later part of this yeare (1658) Davis Mell, the most eminent violinist of London, being in Oxford, Peter Pett, William Bull, Kenelm Digby, and others of All Soules, as also A.W., did give a very handsome entertainment in the tavern, cal'd the Salutation, in S. Marie's parish, Oxon, owned by Thomas Wood. . . The company did look upon Mr. Mell to have a prodigious hand on the violin, and they thought that no person, as all in London did, could goe beyond him. But when Thomas Baltsar, an outlander, came to Oxon, in the next yeare they had other thoughts of Mr. Mell, who tho' he play'd farr sweeter than Baltsar, yet Baltsar's hand was more quick, and could run it insensibly to the end of the finger-board."

The old antiquary appears to have been a frequent visitor to the "Salutation," and he records a visit that was made January 28th, 1658-9, when he "spent with Mr. Curteyne and Mr. Lower at Tom Woods Taverne 1s. 2d."

In connection with his business, Thomas Wood issued in 1652 a Token bearing his name, initials T.W. and Guild (Vintner) on one side, and the sign of a tennis racket on the other. This token, having the mark of a racket, indicated that he also possessed the old racket court, a site which is now occupied by Oriel College Lecture Rooms.

In 1759 the premises were occupied by James Horseman, who with the other coffee-house keepers in Oxford inserted on April 13th in that year in the *Oxford Journal* the following :

" The Masters of Coffee-houses in Oxford find themselves under the disagreeable necessity of acquainting their customers that by the late additional duties on Coffee and Chocolate, together with the advanced prices of those commodities, occasioned by their present scarcity, they shall be obliged to advance the price of chocolate from four-pence to five-pence per dish, and Coffee from four-pence to five-pence per pot." Mrs. Anne Blowfield, of the George Coffee House, announced in a counter advertisement, however, that she does not join in the rise. In 1779, 104 High Street was occupied by John Horseman—probably son of the former—who carried on the same business.

The names of Horseman and his co-signatories to the manifesto announcing the enhanced prices of Chocolate and Coffee were enshrined in the following :—

" Ye too, whose houses are so handy
For coffee, tea, rum, wine, and brandy.
Pride of fair Oxford's gaudy streets,
You too, our strain submissive greets !
Hear, Horseman, Spindlow, King, and Harper—
The weather, sure, was never sharper ! "

The old Salutation Tavern has for nearly a hundred years been a bookshop and one of Oxford's literary landmarks, such well-known names as Richards, George, Chaundy, and Sanders, being the successive owners.

On Proctors.

Among " the grievances which were pretended to have been offered by the University to the City, exhibited by the citizens of Oxford, June 11th, 1612; before the Lords of the Privy Council at the counsell table in Whytehall," we read that " Mr. Proctors do in the night break open and enter the houses of well demeaning citizens upon sight of a candle burning or other like occasions, and carry them to prison, and also upon meeting them in the streets in the night imprison them till they pay such summes of money as they require." Further we learn that " the night Watch of the Town doth solely belong to the University, and is to be kept by the Proctors."

In an anecdote of 1667 it is stated that one of the Fellows of Exeter, when Dr. Drideaux was rector, sent his servitor after nine o'clock at night, with a large bottle to fetch some ale from the alehouse. When he was coming home with it under his gown, the proctor met him, and asked him what he did out so late, and what he had under his gown? He answered, that his master had sent him to the stationer's to borrow *Bellarmine*, which book he had under his arm, and so went home. Hence a bottle with a big belly is called a " Bellarmine."

From Seccombe & Scott's *Proctors in* 1688 we have the following: " Now full of instruction, I was not long in gettin on horseback, but an unhappy accident at Oxford had almost spoil'd all; for at ten of the clock in the inn there was such a roaring and singing that my hair stood on end, and my former prejudices were so heightened that I resolved to lose the journey and carry back my son again, presuming that no noise in Oxford could be made but scholars must doe it; but the proctur coming thither and sending two young, pert townsmen to the prison for the riot, relieved my fears, and quickly came to my chamber, and perceiving my boy designed for a gown, told me that it was for the preservation of such fine youths as he, that the procturs made so bold with gentlemen's lodgings. . . . I told him I was glad to see authority discountenance the publick-houses, because it is an incredible scandal the University labours under, from the account that country gentlemen (who come to lodge in Oxford) give of ranting in inns and taverns as if there was no sleeping in

that town for scholars. He civily replied, that things might be better, but he thanked God they were no worse; that scholars did often bear the blame of country gentlemen and the townsmen's guilt."

Politics occasionally created difficult and even dangerous situations: but on the whole the main business of the Proctor was dealing with minor irregularities, such as the frequenting of taverns and coffee-houses. These were "drawn" as nowadays.

The *Oxonian* of 1778 was "gated" or set an imposition, and it appears that the Vice-Chancellor himself occasionally "walked,"—at least in Hearne's day,—and even "drew" a tavern in which he found the Proctors themselves indulging.

Then, as now, Proctors were also concerned with enforcing due observance of rules relating to academical dress, and as in 1633 so also in 1793, the "absurd and extravagant habit of wearing boots" was sternly forbidden:

> "But the whole set, pray understand,
> Must walk full dress'd in cap and band,
> For should grave Proctor chance to meet
> A buck in boots along the street,
> He stops his course, and with permission,
> Asking his name, sets imposition
> Which to get done, if he's a ninny,
> He gives his barber half-a-guinea.
> This useful go-between will share it
> With servitor in college garret,
> Who counts these labours sweet as honey
> Which brings to purse some pocket-money."
>
> *Reminiscences of Oxford*, by QUILLER-COUCH.
> (From "A description of Oxford," 1770.)

On one occasion we read from *Our Memories*: "Shadows of old Oxford," by H. Daniels, that it became known to a party of undergraduates that a dance was to be held at Eaton, a village near Oxford, and they determined to attend it. This also became known to the Proctors, who proceeded on the evening in question to the village, accompanied by Bull-dogs and Marshall, and surrounded the house at every door. A cry arose, "The Proctors! The Proctors!"—and all was in confusion. The Proctors entered and searched the room, knowing that six undergraduates were implicated, but could only find five. They took the names of these, and after an ineffectual search left the house. A few days after, an undergraduate was visited by the Marshall, who informed him that the Proctor wished to see him. On reaching the Proctor's presence, he was thus addressed: "I am sure, sir, you would not tell a falsehood, and I will not tempt you to do it, so I will tell you what has come to my knowledge. You were at the ball given a few nights ago at Eaton. We

searched the house but could not find you, though we discovered your five companions ; you escaped in this way. When the confusion began, you threw yourself on your hands and knees on the floor ; three of the female dancers sat upon your back, and spreading out their dresses, effectually concealed you. You must be aware that you were guilty of a serious breach of discipline, but you have made no remark on my statement, and the mode of escape was so ingenious that I am reluctant to punish you, and therefore wish you ' Good morning ! ' "

The following criticisms of the *Terrae Filius* (the University Wit and Satirist of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) on the Statutes of the University are interesting, as they give some light to the somewhat depraved state of the morals and customs of scholars of that period :

" There is a statute that no scholars (especially the juniors and undergraduates) shall ramble idly about the city of suburbs, nor be seen in the streets, nor in the publick market, nor at a place near Carfax called Penniless Bench, nor in the shops of any townsmen or mechanicks. But if this statute was observed, I desire to know how it comes to pass that there is such a numerous body of men in Oxford, called lingerers and loungers.

" There are also statutes to prohibit all scholars, of what kind or degree soever, from frequenting townsmen's houses by day or by night ; and particularly from frequenting any inns, cooks-shops, taverns, or other publick-houses within the University, or the precincts thereof, in which wine, or any other liquor, or tobacco, is commonly sold, under very severe penalties, especially if the person so offending is a Tutor.

" I am at a loss to determine whether the observation of these statutes is more neglected than they are unreasonable ; but this I say, that if they are good statutes, the young men are not the greatest offenders herein. The last statute I shall mention, and I think the best of the whole cargoe, is that against prohibited Games ; part of which I beg leave to quote in the very words. It begins in this laudable manner (in English thus) :—' It is decreed that all scholars, of whatsoever condition, shall abstain from all sorts of games, which are play'd for Money, as Dice and Cards ; and also from Bowls in the private bowling-greens, or gardens of any townsmen ; nor shall they be present at any such games, as are prohibited by the laws of the land.'

" Such a statute as this shews the wisdom of its authors, who justly concluded that the toleration of gaming would be of the utmost ill-consequence in a seminary of learning ; that it would encourage the young men not only to mis-spend their time, and neglect their studies, but to squander away their money, and perhaps ruin themselves ; and that it might

(though such a thing is very unlikely) intice some of the old ones to embezzle the publick money of the University, which is entrusted in their hands, to gratify this destructive appetite. To say that conscience, or honour, or common honesty, would restrain them is nonsense ; nothing can restrain a thoroughbred gamester : all ties and obligations give way to this agreeable 'itch on the elbow.'

" This, therefore, is an excellent statute. The same statute prohibits them also from hunting deers, hares, or conies, with dogs of any kind, ferrets, nets, or toils ; and from carrying guns or crossbows ; or using hawks ; which is also frequently violated ; but this does not give me half so much uneasiness as the box and dice : for what signifies a little poaching, or the robbing of a hen-roost now and then, to the infinite evils which gaming is seen every day to produce ? "

Apparently, such an innocent game as bowls was considered dangerous to the morals of the University men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as we read that conditions in the bowling alleys in Queen Elizabeth's reign were simply scandalous. It was then written :—" Common bowling alleys are privy methods that eat up the credit of many idle citizens, whose gains at home are not able to weigh down their losses abroad ; whose shops are so far from maintaining their play that their wives and children cry out for bread and go to bed supperless often in the year."

As may be judged from the above remarks, the duties of the proctors and of the city authorities were somewhat onerous in maintaining order and discipline, and many of the regulations mentioned before are still set forth in the Statutes of the University, though one doubts whether they are even given a consideration.

Thus sings the panegyrist of " Oxford Ale "

"Nor Proctor thrice with vocal heel alarms
Our joys secure, nor deigns the lowly roof
Of pot-house snug to visit ; wiser he
The splendid tavern haunts, or coffee-house
Of James or Juggins.
Where the lewd spendthrift, falsely deem'd polite,
While steams around the fragment Indian Bowl,
Oft damns the vulgar sons of humbler Ale."

Whilst from *Oxford Memories* (Seccombe & Scott) we have the following verses :—

" As down the High at eve we went,
Without a thought or care,
We passed by Queen's, my friend and I,
We passed by Queen's, I know not why,
And met the Proctor there.

And when we called next day, at ten,
Excuse in vain we made;
For there within his private room,
Yes, there within his private room,
Five shillings fine we paid."

The "Golden Cross," one of the few remaining old courtyard hostelries, with an interesting history extending over six hundred years, was much used by undergraduates for wines and suppers, and an old comic theatrical song says:

"When with friends at the 'Cross' you're having a feed,
The Proctors by bulldogs will smell out the deed;
Step in uninvited and rudely say 'Oh!
I will see you at ten, Mr Billy Barlow.'"

"If a Proctor meet a body
Coming down the High,
If a Proctor greet a body,
Need a body fly?

Every Proctor has his bull-dog,
Dog of mickle might,
When he marches forth in full tog
At the fall of night.

Every bull-dog when he spies a
Man without a gown,
Promptly chases him and tries a-
Main to run him down."

(*Lays of Modern Oxford.*)

"Two little Progs,
They lost their dogs,
And didn't know where to find them;
But down in the High
They were doing the Spy,
Though nobody seemed to mind them."

(*Shotover Papers.*)

Mrs DOROTHY SPREADBURY.

Inventress of the Oxford Sausage.

(From *The Oxford Sausage*, 1822.)

"The Oxford Sausage" (1764)

Edited by THOMAS WARTON. Poet Laureate, being "select poetical pieces by the most celebrated Wits in the University."

Numerous verses have been written by the famous "Wits" and Poets of the day, including Thomas Warton, the Poet Laureate, who was a well-known frequenter of "The Mitre," and for the interest of readers the following lines are given from *The Oxford Sausage*, published in 1764, and collected by Warton, whose "principal aim" we are informed in his Preface, "has been to collect poems of humour and burlesque; and our *Sausage*, we presume, will not only gratify the palate, but, if the old and approved proverb, "Laugh and be fat," be true, will at the same time, contribute to make our readers *thrive*. All such persons, therefore, as are grown thin by too much study, fasting, and low spirits, if they would improve their constitution, and mend their habit, are hereby invited to partake of this cheap, delicious, and salutary *morsel*."

VERSES

OCCASIONED BY

BEN TYRRELL'S MUTTON PIES, MOTHER SPREADBURY'S SAUSAGES AND THE PORTER OF CAPTAIN JOLLY (OF "THE MITRE.")

ADVERTISEMENT.

ALL ye that love what's *nice* and *rarish*,
At *Oxford*, in St. *Mary's* parish,
BEN TYRRELL, cook of high-renown,
To please the palates of the *Gown*,
At three-pence each makes MUTTON PIES,
Which thus he begs to advertise:—
He welcomes all his friends at *seven*,
Each *Saturday* and *Wedn'sday* even.*
No relics stale, with art unjust,
Lurk in disguise beneath his *crust*;

His pies to give you all fair play,
Smoke only when 'tis *market-day*;
And all must own how *fresh* his meat,
While JOLLY'S† porter crowns the treat.

*Mr. Tyrrell, cook in the High Street, Oxford, having formed a laudable design of obliging the University with Mutton Pies twice a week, this advertisement appeared on that occasion in the Oxford Journal, Nov. 25, 1758.

†Captain Jolly (of "The Mitre") who, *pro bono publico*, first reduced the price of porter in Oxford, from 6d. to 4d. a quart.

If *rumps* and *kidneys* can allure ye,
Ben takes upon him to assure ye,
No cook shall better hit the taste
In giving life and soul to PASTE.
If *cheap* and *good* have weight with men,
Come, all ye youths, and sup with BEN.
If *liquor* in a MUTTON PIE
Has any charms, come taste and try!
O bear me witness, *Isis'* sons!
Pierce but the crust—the *gravy* runs:—
The taster licks his lips, and cries,
"O RARE BEN TYRRELL'S MUTTON PIES!"

But hold—no more—I've said enough—
Or else my PIES may prove—a PUFF.

BEN TYRRELL'S,
WEDNESDAY NIGHT, DECEMBER THE 6TH, 1758.

HOW I congratulate fair *Isis*,
That such the taste for MUTTON PIES is!
Hail, glorious BEN! whose genius high
First plann'd a genuine MUTTON PIE!
Born to combine, with matchless taste,
The charms of PEPPER and of PASTE!
Was but the motion of my pen
Quick as thy *rolling-pin*, O BEN!
Oh! could my thoughts thy pastry ape,
And slide, like yielding dough, to shape;
My genius, like thy oven, glow,
My numbers, like thy gravy, flow;
Or, in the twinkling of an eye,
I *cook* an ODE—as you a PIE;
O then (nor think, to mock thy trade,
My promises of *pie-crust* made)
I'd raise thy culinary fame
Above immortal SPREADBURY'S name;
Though from all cooks, a matron wise,
In SAUSAGES she bore the prize;
Her *seasoning* hand should yield to thine,
Thy MUTTON should her PORK outshine.

Nor shall the Muse esteem it folly
To blend with thine the praise of JOLLY;
Thy lov'd compeer! cogenial friend!
Who mild, when evening shades descend,
Imparts the froth-crown'd PORTER'S aid,
To smooth the serious brow of trade:
Both shall together mount the skies,
The PORTER his—but thine the PIES.

Thine is the house, dear BEN, to call at,
Or for the *pocket*, or the *palate*;
For thee, the citizen and cit
Their cold boil'd beef and carrots quit;
Grave aldermen, ambitious, share
In *alma mater's* classic fare;
The blooming toasts of *Oxford* town
Catch the contagion of the *Gown*,
And wish the wonted ev'ning nigh,
To *have a finger in the pie*.

As so *enticing* TYRRELL'S house is,
Send not too *late* ye pregnant spouses!
Think of the midwife's vast surprise
To see boy's *mark'd* with MUTTON PIES!
If this the universal taste is,
What will become of *ven'son pasties?*
What of the *cates*, which many a maiden,
For the next *Christmas* cheer has laid in?
Sure all with BEN will sup and dine,
And leave their CHRISTMAS PIES for THINE.

ΠΙΟΦΙΛΟΣ.

EPIGRAM,
OCCASIONED
By a supposed extraordinary Phenomenon in Midwifery.

I.

SAGE WOODS! though many a dark affair
Be known to thy discerning eyes;
E'en you, with all your skill, must stare
"To see boys mark'd with MUTTON PIES!"

II.

What if our *wives*, with equal glee,
In thought a SAUSAGE should enjoy;
Say, would you wonder much to see
The MOTHER'S LONGINGS mark the boy?

ON
BEN TYRRELL'S PIES.

LET *Christmas* boast her customary treat,
A mixture strange, of suet, currants, meat,
Where various tastes combine, the greasy and the sweet,
Let glad *Shrove Tuesday* bring the PANCAKE thin,
Or FRITTER rich, with apples stor'd within:
On *Easter Sunday* be the PUDDING seen,
To which the TANSEY lends her sober green:
And when great *London* hails her annual *lord*,
Let quiv'ring CUSTARD crown the *aldermanic* board.

But BEN prepares a more delicious mess,
Substantial fare, a breakfast for Queen *Bess:*
What dainty epicure, or greedy glutton,
Would not prefer his PIE, that's made of MUTTON?

Each diff'rent country boasts a diff'rent taste,
And owes its fame to PUDDING and to PASTE:
SQUAB PIE in *Cornwall* only can they make,
In *Norfolk* DUMPLING, and in *Salop* CAKE;
But *Oxford* now from all shall bear the prize,
Fam'd, as for SAUSAGES, for MUTTON PIES.

MUTTON PIES FOR THE ASSIZES.

MARCH 1, 1760.

BEHOLD, once more, facetious BEN
Steps from his PASTE to take the PEN;
And as the *trumpets*, shrill and loud,
Precede the sheriff's *javelin'd* crowd,
So BEN before-hand advertises
His snug-laid scheme for the *Assizes*.
Each of the evenings, BEN proposes
With PIES so nice to *smoke* your noses:
No cost, as heretofore, he grudges,
He'll stand the test of able JUDGES;
And think, that when the *hall* is *up*,
How *cheap* a JURYMAN may *sup!*
For LAWYERS' CLERKS, in wigs so smart,
A tight warm room is set apart.—
My MASTERS eke, (might BEN advise ye,)
Detain'd too long at *nizey prizey*,
Your college commons lost at *six*,—
At BEN'S the *jovial* evening *fix*;
From **tripe*-indentures, stale and dry,
Escap'd to PORTER and a PIE.
Hither, if ye have any taste,
Ye BOOTED EVIDENCES, haste!
Ye LASSES too, both tall and slim,
In *riding-habits* dress'd so trim,
Who, usher'd by some *young attorney*,
Take, each Assize, an *Oxford journey*:
All, who *subpœna'd* on th' occasion,
Require *genteel* accommodation,
Oh! haste to BEN'S, *and save your fines*
You'd pay at houses deck'd with *signs!*
Lo I! a cook of taste and knowledge,
And bred the *coquus* of a *college*,
Having long known the STUDENT'S bounty,
Now dare to *cater* for the COUNTY.

Come then, of BEN, O come, and buy all—
As 'tis *Assize-time*, he'll stand *trial*;
His *cause* success will surely crown,
His *witnesses*—are ALL the GOWN.

*It is supposed Ben means *tripartite*.

EPITAPH

To the Pie-House Memory of Nell Batchelor.

AN OXFORD PIE-WOMAN.

I.

HERE deep in the dust
The mouldy old crust
Of Nell Batchelor lately was shoven
Who was skill'd in the arts
Of pies, puddings, and tarts,
And knew ev'ry use of the oven.

II.

When she'd liv'd long enough,
She made her last puff,
A puff by her husband much prais'd;
Now here she doth lie,
And makes a dirt pie,
In hopes that her crust will be rais'd.

VERSES FOR THE YEAR 1766.

Where Captain Jolly's *House of Lords*,
At eve a snug retreat affords,
Amid the clouds of many a pipe,
Porter our drink, our supper tripe;
Like solemn ministers of state
We Newsmen held a grand debate,
How best this year to entertain
The public with a Christmas strain;
How best to tell our noble masters
Of all our dangers and disasters:
Each, o'er his pint, propos'd his plan,
And thus the consultation ran:

* * * * * *

VERSES FOR THE YEAR 1769.

We men of news, in former days,
Had glorious subjects for our lays:
The mutton pies of witty Ben
Employ'd, each year, our constant pen;
And oft our Christmas carol sung
The joint renown of Jolly Young.—
Such were the newsman's strains of yore,
But mutton pies are now no more;
And (theme too high for humble writer)
Lo! Captain Jolly keeps the Mitre.
Meantime our soldiers and commanders
Sent us brave paragraphs from Flanders,
And oft our tars, for conquest eager,
Prov'd beef superior to soup meagre.
While into rhyme we strove to turn all
The fam'd events of many a Journal.

* * * * * *

"The Mitre" and other Local Characters.

"At eve my careless round in *High Street* took,
And called at JOLLY'S for the *casual* draught."

Anthony à Wood informs us that "Between Quartervois (Carfax) and St. Marie's Church, on the south side of the High Street," a number of butchers' stalls were erected, to the number of about thirty. On the opposite side of the street, and on the site of the present Market, most of the Eating-houses and a number of Taverns were situated, as seen in the illustration on page 54. These served the desires of the students and citizens of the period, and they were well patronised, as we learn that both in this and in the eighteenth centuries the Oxford men spent a great deal of time in Coffee-houses and Taverns: Much has been written of these, and many odes have been chanted there to the fair "Toasts" of the day. For those, however, who "loved more solid potation" the "Mitre" stood open, the "tavern of the noted Captain Jolly." Draughts of his liquor, we are informed, gave a relish to the supper of tripe, Mother Spreadbury's sausages, or the threepenny mutton-pies of Nell Batchelor or Ben Tyrrell, all of whom were well-known in the locality.

In consequence of a letter written in *The Student, or the Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany*, and dated 1751, on the merits and fame of James Ashley, who "First of BRITONS reduc'd PUNCH to its ORIGINAL PRICE; and brought that LIQUOR into universal esteem," we find that correspondence took place bearing on the public spirit of Captain Jolly (later on, of "The Mitre" Inn), who announced: "Know then, that in the middle of the High Street, at the sign of the King's-Arms, opposite to its opposite, Juggins's Coffee-House, lives CAPTAIN JOLLY; who, maugre the selfish opposition of his brother-publicans, out of a pure affection to this University, and regardless of private profit, reduc'd PORTER from its original price of Six-pence, and in large golden characters generously informs us that he sells

LONDON PORTER
at Four-pence a Quart.

As the Captain is a genius and a choice spirit, he meets with the greatest encouragement from the "gown," and sends

PORTER to all the "Common-rooms." He, therefore, intends shortly (in imitation of the great Ashley) to have the front of his house new vamp'd up, and decorated with the following inscription:

Pro bono Academico.
HERE LIVES CAPTAIN JOLLY,
who first
Reduc'd PORTER to its present price,
and
Brought that Liquor unto University Esteem.

From Caulfield's *Memories and Characters of Remarkable Persons*, published in 1794, we learn that James Ashley died in 1776. He retailed punch at 2d. per glass to any quantity.

In the *Newsmen's Verses* of 1769 (see p. 99) it is said that Captain Jolly "keeps the Mitre," and it would appear from the above that he had previously occupied the premises of "The King's Arms," nearly opposite "The Mitre."

In the *O.H.S.* work (Vol. XXIV) mention is made of John Jolly, of Enstone, who had a bakehouse in Kiddington (in Oxfordshire) in the year 1750. He afterwards owned an estate in the same town. In this century he was one of the largest proprietors of stage coaches and waggons in the country, and had depots at Enstone, Kiddington, and Oxford. From the *Journals* we gather that he raised a large number of ricks on one spot, which gave occasion for the name, "Jolly's Ricks," and he was evidently a large owner of property in Oxfordshire.

At the time when Captain Jolly owned the "King's Arms" he probably also occupied the adjoining premises, which were used as a coach posting-house.

From 1815 to 1841 the celebrated "Master" of "The Mitre" Inn was Thomas Peake, "one of the old ones," with his broad-brimmed, low-crowned hat, leather leggings, and his greyhounds around him, of which, it is said, he generally kept six to eight couples of the purest breed (see pages 130-1).

In the *Oxford Journal* of January 5th, 1816, the following notice is given of Thomas Peake, who came to "The Mitre" Inn on December 22nd, 1815:

"MITRE INN,
HIGH STREET, OXFORD.
T. PEAKE

Begs leave to return thanks to his friends and the public for favours conferred on him during his residence at the Blue Boar (which is now shut up as an Inn), and respectfully informs them that he has entered on the above Inn, where he hopes to be favoured with a continuance of their support. Dec. 22nd, 1815."

These records of "Mitre" characters would not be complete without reference being made to "Oriel Bill," a famous brindle Bulldog, who belonged to an Oriel Don, but whose headquarters were generally at "The Mitre." He lived in the 'nineties, and in 1894 his fame became published abroad by magazine articles and other aids to notoriety. In his day "Oriel Bill" was as much photographed as a stage beauty. Some strange tales are told of his peculiarities. Skates and squibs were his pet abominations, and during his life he had many notable acquaintances. His photographs in cap and gown, and in a football jersey, sitting between a pair of miniature goal-posts, or with a coster cap upon his head, a red scarf around his neck, and a turned-down clay pipe, and with a very dejected air, are well known to most persons of the period. He was a most courteous dog, and his manners at table were beyond reproach. In his old age he lost most of his animation, and cultivated roving habits, seldom staying in one place, except the centre of the city, at "The Mitre," where he was run to earth by an interviewer of the *Oxford Review*, who gives a long conversation with the celebrity. The same journal also prints a letter and brief notice of his death, stating that "Bill went for a stroll around the Parks just after two, where he was seen rolling along in a very shaky state. He did not stay long, but made for 'The Mitre,' which was a favourite spot of his, where he wobbled to the stables and died shortly afterwards." He was buried in the ground of Oriel College, where his grave is still to be seen.

Frontispiece of the Second German Edition of Moritz's Travels in England, in 1782, showing a scene in the Mitre, Oxford.

(*English Men and Manners in the XVIIIth Century ;* Oxford University Press.)

Pastor Moritz at Oxford, and at "The Mitre," 1782.

In 1782 an interesting scene took place at "The Mitre." In that year the Chaplain of All Saints, Mr. Maud, made himself very agreeable to Pastor Moritz, of Berlin, who was then passing through Oxford, and the following extracts from the book recording his experiences in the University City are interesting :—

"As we entered the town, now, says my companion, I introduce you into Oxford by one of the finest, the longest, and most beautiful streets, not only in this city, but in England, and I may safely add, in all Europe. . . At length my companion stopped to take leave of me, and said he should now go to his college. And I said, I will seat myself for the night on this stone bench and await the morning, as it will be in vain for me, I imagine, to look for shelter in a house at this time of night.

"Seat yourself on a stone! said my companion, and shook his head. No! no! come along with me to a neighbouring ale-house, where, it is possible, they mayn't be gone to bed, and we may yet find company. We went on a few houses farther, and then knocked at a door. It was then nearly twelve. They readily let us in, but how great was my astonishment when, on our being shown into a room on the left (*see illustration opposite*), I saw several gentlemen in academic dress sitting round a large table, each with his pot of beer before him. My travelling companion introduced me to them as a German clergyman whom he could not sufficiently praise for my correct pronunciation of the Latin, my orthodoxy, and my good walking.

"I now saw myself, in a moment, as it were, all at once transported into the midst of a company, all apparently very respectable men, but all strangers to me. And it appeared to me extraordinary that I should, thus at midnight, be in Oxford, in a large company of Oxonian clergy, without well knowing how I had got there. Meanwhile, however, I took all the pains in my power to recommend myself to my company, and in the course of conversation, I gave them as good an account as I could of our German universities, neither denying nor concealing that, now and then, we had riots and disturbances. 'O, we are very unruly here, too,' said one of the

gentlemen, as he took a hearty draught out of his pot of beer, and knocked on the table with his hand. The conversation now became louder, more general, and a little confused. They enquired after Mr. Bruns, at present Professor at Helmstadt, and who was known by many of them. . . My health was drunk in strong ale, which, as my company seemed to like so much, I was sorry I could not like. It either intoxicated or stupified me, and I do not think it overpowers one much sooner than so much wine would. The conversation now turned on many other different subjects. At last, when morning drew near, Mr. Maud, the gentleman who introduced me, suddenly exclaimed, rather emphatically: 'I must read prayers this morning at All Souls.'

"Before he went away, however, he invited me to go and see him in the morning, and very politely offered himself to show me the curiosities of Oxford. The rest of the company now also dispersed, and as I had once, though in so singular a manner, been introduced into so reputable a society, the people of the house made no difficulty of giving me lodging, but, with great civility, showed me a very decent bedchamber. I am ashamed, however, to own that next morning, when I awoke, I had got so dreadful a headache, from the copious and numerous toasts of my jolly and reverend friends, that I could not possibly get up, still less could I wait on Mr Maud at his college.

"The inn where I was goes by the name of 'The Mitre.' Compared with Windsor, I there found prince-like attendance. Being, perhaps, a little elevated the preceding evening, I had, in the gaiety or perhaps in the vanity of my heart, told the waiter that he must not think, because I came on foot, that therefore I should give him less than others gave. It was, probably, not a little owing to this assurance that I had so much attention shown me. I dined below with the family and a few other persons, and the conversation, in general, was agreeable enough. They could not sufficiently admire my courage in determining to travel on foot, although they could not help approving of the motive. . . ."

"At 'The Mitre,' the inn where I lodged, there was hardly a minute in which some students or others did not call, either to drink or to amuse themselves in conversation with the daughter of the landlord, who is not only handsome, but sensible, and well-behaved. . . . Considering the pleasing, if not kind, attention shown me here, I own I thought my bill not unreasonable: though to be sure, it made a great hole in my little purse."

No. 12 High Street, Oxford.

This house is located within that "coveted area" which for centuries has been the focal centre of the commercial life of Oxford; and there are few buildings in Oxford which have been more closely associated with important events and distinguished occupants than this building, which is now occupied by the Mercery business-house of Messrs. Webbers. The following details will therefore, doubtless, be of interest to readers :—

In 1700 Richard Walker transferred to No. 12 High Street the license and tavern then designated "The King's Head" (see page 54), and in the four years 1700-1704 it is believed that extensive building alterations were carried out. These included the entire re-construction of the frontage and all the rooms adjoining the street, and it is probable that at this time also a new frontage was added to the present "Mitre" property over that portion of the High Street which from the fourteenth century had been occupied by the stalls or tenements to which reference is given in the chapter "Inter Muros" (page 30).

A finely-designed Memorial has recently been erected by Mr. C. P. Webber to indicate the position of the room in which the members of the "Constitutional Club" met. As the result of a meeting on May 29th, 1715, bonfires were lit outside houses; the Quaker Meeting-House and a Baptist Chapel were destroyed. (It is stated that the present Chapel in the New Road was partly paid for by the University as the result of this Riot.) The wording on the tablet runs as follows :—

> "This building was formerly "The King's
> "Head Tavern," and for many years the
> "Headquarters of the Constitutional
> "Club. Opposite this spot on May 29th,
> "1715, commenced a Great Riot in which
> "much property was destroyed."

As a result of this riot, a general meeting of the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses and Proctors of the University of Oxford, at the Convocation House on July 26th, 1715, passed resolutions that on the Accession of George I, August 1st, 1715 :

1. "No scholar or number of scholars, whatsoever, shall, by giving Drink, or otherwise, endeavour to draw together any Multitude of People, or make any Bonfires, . . . before any Tavern . . . , and all Colleges and Halls are hereby forbidden to light up any Bonfire at any other Time of the Day than immediately after Morning Service at St. Maries, at which Time the University-Bonfire is usually made before the Church-Doors.

2. All Publick Houses are hereby strictly forbidden to entertain any Guests whatsoever, except Travellers, after Nine a Clock at Night, which Time is signified by Tolling the Great Bell at Christ-Church College; and all Persons are enjoined Then to repair immediately to their own Houses, unless they shall be Abroad upon Lawful and Necessary Business: And all Colleges and Halls are required to shut up their several Gates at that Hour, and also to restrain their Members from wandering in the Streets after that Hour, or before it, as much as may be."

The walls of the second and third floors of No. 12 still carry the panelling which is so characteristic a feature of the "William and Mary" period, and the tall windows which still grace the front elevation of the premises probably date from the same period.

The "Crown Tavern" and William Shakespeare.

In August, 1927, a most interesting and valuable discovery was by chance made by Mr. E. W. Attwood in Messrs. Hookham's premises at No. 3 Cornmarket Street. During certain restoration work, and on removing some of the canvas covering of the walls, a considerable amount of fine panelling of the early seventeenth century was discovered. A portion of a panel was damaged, and on further search being made through the aperture it was found that the wall beyond had a coloured wall-painting. On carefully removing the panelling from the whole of the wall surface a magnificent scene was presented, and it was then seen that the whole of the wall had been painted with a decorative floral design, which is considered to date to 1450 or thereabouts, and which it is surmised forms a link with Shakespeare. Dr. W. H. Hutton, Dean of Winchester, and a great Shakespearian, on being invited by Mr. Attwood to inspect the wall decorations, expressed the opinion in the following words: "What you have at No. 3 Cornmarket Street is the greatest Shakespearian discovery for scores of years."

At a meeting which was held on the 30th June, 1928, in this room (which will in future be called "The Painted Room"), consisting of numerous members of the Oxford Preservation Trust and other prominent members of the University, Councillor Rogers, in the presence of the Mayor, Mr. Attwood, and others, read the Paper of Mr. Philip M. Johnston, F.S.A., on the history of the house and its occupants, and described in detail the discovery and preservation of the decorations of the room. He thus states:—"In 1485 New College had two adjacent properties in this street—the 'Golden Cross' Inn, which is easily identified, of which the rent was £9, and the "Bull" Inn, with a rent of £5. For the next seventy years there is no evidence, but in 1555 the 'Bull' Inn had come to an end, and was divided into two—a small property on the south side of the 'Golden Cross,' let at 26s. 8d. yearly, which would appear to coincide with the adjoining restaurant, and further south a tenement let at 50s., which answers to No. 3 Cornmarket of to-day: this sum remained the nominal rent until 1800. It was leased to Thomas Malyson in 1556, to John Tatleton in 1564, and again in 1584, and to William Hough, a furrier, in 1592. In 1614, when the lease was renewed, it was to Walter Payne, the occupant being John Davenant, vintner, and up to this time there is no sign that it was a wine tavern. The next occupant we hear of is Jane Hallom, widow of Thomas Hallom, vintner, in 1638; she was the second daughter of John Davenant,

and married his drawer, whom she long survived. Twenty years later (1659) Jane Hallom was still the occupant, but the house was called the 'Salutation Tavern.' In 1659, when another lease is granted, the house is described as the 'Crown Tavern,' late 'Salutation Tavern.' A century later—in June, 1793—we find the name of James Clarke as occupier. He was a men's mercer and tailor, and he is followed in his business by James Purbrick and Richard Hookham in succession.

"In 1926, when making the new shop front, one of the fifteenth-century storey-posts and a good part of the four-centred gate-arch in oak was uncovered, which we have been able to leave exposed and in their original position; the similarity of the form and mouldings with those of the gate to the 'Golden Cross' (still happily preserved to us) may be noted. This storey-post is about four feet back from the present street frontage line, and the bearer of the first floor still projects westward. Mr. Johnston draws attention to the elaborately trowelled and stamped plaster-work in a cupboard on the first floor, the stone projecting chimney breast still visible externally at the back, together with the moulded end of a great wall plate which originally carried a fifteenth-century bargeboard. This last now juts out over the wooden newel stair of that date, whose octagon newel post must have been handled by William Shakespeare as he made his way to the very room in which we are now met. Above this second floor, originally gabled back and front, was added, probably during Davenant's occupancy, an entirely new storey, with a pair of gables, which, although set back when the nineteenth-century front was constructed, are still to be seen above the present lead flat which was then made. It will be seen, therefore, that we have remaining the core of a mediaeval timber-framed house, of basement, ground, first and second floors, with stone and brick chimneys, which, despite internal alterations and modern facing, is the very house that Shakespeare knew, and that was, even in his day, perhaps 200 year-old. To-day its age spans five centuries.

"Having thus introduced the Immortal Name, may I substantiate from unimpeachable authorities the Davenant and Shakespeare connection? In an article entitled 'Shakespeare and Oxford' in the quarto edition of the catalogue of the Shakespeare Exhibition at the Bodleian Library in 1916, Dr. Hutton, the Dean of Winchester, gives as dates of Shakespeare's visits to Oxford: 1587, 1593, 1603 (or 04), 1605, 1606, 1609, 1610, 1612 and 1613. What is equally to the point, we know that he was not only a friend of John Davenant, the vintner, but was godfather to his son William, who was a minor poet, and received a knighthood in Charles II's reign. Aubrey, the historian and topographer, writes of Sir William that he was born in the city of Oxford, at the

'Crown Tavern,' and from other sources we have the date of his baptism—March 3rd, 1605-06. It is probable, therefore, that John Davenant, whose name first appears as occupier in the 1614 renewal of the lease to Walter Payne, was in occupation as tenant of the lessee, William Hough, 1592-1614, or for part of that term. This John Davenant, Aubrey continues, 'was a vintner, a very grave and discreet citizen; his wife was a very beautiful woman, and of a very good wit, and of conversation extremely agreeable. They had three sons and three handsome daughters. . . Mr. William Shakespeare was wont to goe into Warwickshire once a yeare, and did commonly in his journey lye at this house in Oxon, where he was exceedingly respected.' (See chapter on 'Carfax.') In this old timber house the vintner's trade would occupy the ground floor, with a parlour and kitchen; he and his family would have their sleeping quarters on the first floor, with perhaps a bower for Mistress Davenant and her daughters, while on the second floor would be a room for the female servants and another for the guest-chamber. The additional top storey, or third floor, would provide extra rooms for servants. If this allotment of space be accepted, there can be no reasonable doubt that this painted room on the second floor is that in which the guest of guests, William Shakespeare, so frequently lay; further, that they remained exposed to view till about the time of his death, in 1616, or shortly after, when the panelling was put up in this room and that adjoining."

Of the decorations themselves he gives numerous and interesting details, the beauty of the workmanship, and the colours, only being lacking. The wall with the colour decoration is about 17ft. 6in. long by 8ft. in height. The decoration itself is painted on the surface of the plaster, which is almost intact, but in such places as the plaster has crumbled away the scheme of decoration has been carefully coloured in, in outline, showing the scroll-work, but without entirely completing the design. The whole of this surface has been cleaned and treated for preservation, and the colours have thus been heightened, in some parts probably to their original colouring. Mr. Philip Johnston, who carried out the restoration work, puts the date at *circa* 1550, which thus brings it within the short reign of Edward VI. Unfortunately, the fireplace wall is much discoloured by smoke, not having been panelled as the other walls in 1620, but fortunately, as he states, "much of the original brickwork remains, some set herring-bone fashion on the back wall, and the slope of the chimney-breast gathering to the flue is a pleasing feature which we uncovered. Very prominent in the centre over the fireplace are the letters 'J. E. S.,' in the conventional manner of the fourteenth century—the contracted form of the Holy Name. These may

be a hundred years older than the later general scheme, through which, to use a painter's phrase, they are 'grinning' with great power of survival. There may be indications a little lower down of other early monograms, but practically all else of the earlier decoration has been obliterated.

"The series of pious exhortations which form a cornice to the scheme is imperfect: its beginning is missing, as well as some half-a-dozen words towards the end. It is in rough rhyme and rhythm, but this is obscured by the fact that the opening phrases are missing, and by the spacing on its panel of the first portion now left.

"First in thi Rising, And last of thi rest
be thou gods servante for that hold i best
In the mornynge earlye
Serve god Devoutlye
Feare god above allthynge
and.....and the Kynge."

To complete the first line Mr. Johnson has added the words, "First in thi Rising."

"The monition is most suitable for a bed-chamber, namely, to say your prayers night and morning. It is tantalising to have traces only of letters to help to the completion of the last line over the fireplace. The flowers in the filling of the design are those commonly met with in the sixteenth century—white Canterbury bells, wind-flowers, roses, and perhaps a passion flower, and bunches of grapes: these are arranged in some sort of order, in rows or alternating. The ground throughout is a rich orange scarlet, made from the natural red ochre from Headington."

Mr. Johnston concludes a detailed account of the paintings thus: "The general impressions left on one's mind after studying this remarkable survival of sixteenth-century art is that the craftsman was a skilful artist, and that this painting is one of the most perfect and typical examples of a comparatively rare class."

Sir John Davenant, Poet Laureate,
born 1605—died 1668.

Jacobite Oxford.

In the first year of King George's reign there were many Jacobite demonstrations, and there was a riot, begun apparently by scholars of the University, on the King's birthday in 1715. In this year, on March 29th, Col. Handyside's Regiment was quartered in Oxford for the express purpose of keeping the Jacobite townsmen in order. With these continued disturbances during the first few years of his reign, it is not altogether surprising to find that the Government wrote strong letters to the Vice-Chancellor, and disloyalty prevailed to such an extent in Oxford that a company of dragoons, commanded by General Pepper, was sent to the city to quell the disturbances, martial law being proclaimed.

In the notorious Meadowcroft affair we find that a certain Mr. Meadowcroft, a Whig and member of the Whig "Constitutional Club," was put back from taking his Master's degree because on May 29th, when he ought to have been celebrating the restoration of Charles II, apparently he drank and invited a Proctor to drink, the health of King George.

We learn from *Terrae Filius*, that "upon a publick night, just after King George came into England, some Whigs in Oxford ordered a bonfire to be made before a tavern door, and the windows to be illuminated, designing to be loyal and merry. But immediately a great mob of scholars and others came hollowing and roaring, 'King James for ever; down with the Usurper.' They carried all the faggots away, broke the windows, and committed several outrages. Whereupon all the Whigs were cited into the Vice-Chancellor's Court and find for committing a Riot, it being alleged that 'if they had not been there, or made a bonfire, there would have been no riot.'"

In the rising of 1745 we learn that the Government viewed with alarm the prevalance of Jacobite principles in the University, Oxford being the centre of the movement in favour of the Pretender. Cambridge was, however, perfectly loyal to the existing Government. In this reign, on King George the First's birthday, a troop of horse was sent to Oxford, whilst Bishop Moore's magnificent library of 30,000 volumes was sent to Cambridge; whereupon an Oxford wit, Dr. Trapp, wrote:

> "King George, observing with judicious eyes
> The state of both his Universities,
> To Oxford sent a troop of horse, and why?
> That learned body wanted loyalty.
> To Cambridge books he sent, as well discerning
> How much that learned body wanted learning."

Cambridge, however, made the following reply, attributed to Sir William Brown :

> " The King to Oxford sent a troop of horse,
> For Tories own no argument but force.
> With equal skill to Cambridge books he sent,
> For Whigs admit no force of argument."

Oxford therefore became split up into the two parties of Whig and Tory, and each side is stated to have spent much energy in reviling and attacking the other party. Balliol, it is stated by Godley, was the stronghold of Conservative principles, and was especially connected with the " High Borlace," a Tory wine-club which met annually on the 18th August at the King's Head Tavern to drink the health of the Pretender. (to which reference is made in the Chapter on " No. 12 High Street.")

Under the Hanoverian dynasty, Oxford was practically the Jacobite headquarters, if not Capital, but by the accession of George III Jacobitism had almost ceased to exist, though in 1747 there was a Jacobite outbreak, which was punished with some severity, and of which we give the following details :

" On Tuesday " (says Canon Blacow), " the 23rd day of February, 1747, I was in a private room at Winter's Coffee House, near the High Street in Oxford, in company with several Gentlemen of the University and an Officer in his Regimental Habit. About seven o'clock in the evening, a person, belonging to the Coffee House, came into the Room and told us there were a number of Gownsmen at the door, shouting K—g J——s for ever, Pr—— C——s, and other treasonable words," thus causing a riot. The story continues : " The Canon went out and followed the rioters into the street, where they continued to shout the same treasonable expressions," and " with a boldness equal to his loyalty, Canon Blacow seized Mr. Whitmore, one of the rioters, and insisted upon carrying him to the Proctor." There was a rescue, however, but the troubles and disturbances increased. Eventually, after the Vice-Chancellor had instituted enquiries, the Government took the matter up, and the ringleaders were severely punished, being " condemned to be imprisoned for two years ; to find security for their good behaviour for seven years, and to go round immediately to all the Courts in Westminster Hall, with a paper on their foreheads detailing the particulars of their offence."

August 1st, 1835.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY AMUSEMENTS, 1842.

"The Lowngers" or "Smart."

Extracts from "The Oxford Sausage" (1764).

"I Rise about nine, get to breakfast by ten,
Blow a tune on my flute, or perhaps make a pen;
Read a play till eleven, or cock my lac'd hat,
Then step to my neighbour's, till dinner, to chat.
Dinner over, to '*Tom's*'* or to '*James's*' I go,
The news of the town so impatient to know;
While *Law, Locke and Newton*, and all the rum race,
That talk of their Modes, their ellipses, and space,
The Seat of the Soul, and new Systems on high,
In *holes* as abstruse as their mysteries, lie.
From the coffee-house then I to Tennis away,
And at five I post back to my College to pray;
I sup before eight, and secure from all duns,
Undauntedly march to the '*Mitre*' or '*Tuns*';
Where in Punch or good Claret my sorrows I drown,
And toss off a bowl "*to the best in the town*";
At one in the morning I call 'What's to pay?'
Then home to my College I stagger away:
Thus I tope all the night, as I trifle all day."

MAGINN'S "ODE TO A BOTTLE OF OLD PORT."

"How blest are the tipplers whose heads can outlive
The effects of four bottles of thee;
But the next dearest blessing that heaven can give
Is to stagger home muzzy with three."

This was quoted, it is stated, with approval and from experience round many a mahogany tree. It is reminiscent of the good old days when wine was perhaps no better than it is to-day, but when Varsity men and visitors had their pockets more fully lined.

Two little stories are told relating to convivial parties. They are no doubt old to Oxford men, but may add a spice

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* See chapter on "Oxford Coffee Houses."
(Tom's Coffee House, in the High Street, is now occupied by Messrs. Rowell & Sons, the Jewellers.)

of interest to visitors, and are extracted from Tuckwell's book on *Oxford Life* :—

" A jovial club, the bibulous champions of either College, dined mutually at Lincoln or at Brazenose on a day in alternate weeks. One night, whilst confidently hugging the wall in Brazenose Lane as they reeled home from gate to gate, it blew a hurricane, and as the Brazenose detachment threaded the opening of the lane, just under Bishop Heber's tree, they were met by so furious a gust that they lost hold of the wall, and were blown into the open. Struggling in the pitchy darkness to recover their lost stay, they were brought up against the then unrailed Radcliffe Library. Joyously they resumed their progress. Occasional suspicion that the way was long floated through their muddy brains, but port wine, deranging reason, leaves faith undisturbed, and on they went. The night was on the wane, and at break of day the early coaches sweeping past beheld a procession of vinous seniors, cap and gown awry, slowly following their leader in single file round and round the Radcliffe."

Horace Twiss, in his history of the *Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon* (eighteenth century), gives the following similar episode : " Eldon tells a tale of a Doctor of Divinity trying, under the influence of some inspiration much stronger than that of the Pierian stream, to make his way to Brazenose through Radcliffe Square. He had reached the library, a rotunda then without railings, and, unable to support himself except by keeping one hand on the building, he continued walking round and round, until a friend, coming out of the College, espied the distress of the case, and rescued him from the orbit in which he was so unsteadily revolving."

Of a certain Barnaby, believed to be a member of Queen's, and of the surname Harrington, a few lines have been written in the early seventeenth century:

" Barnaby, Barnaby, thous't been drinking ;
I can tell by thy nose, and thy eyes winking.
Drunk at Richmond, drunk at Dover,
Drunk at Newcastle, and drunk all over.
Hey ! Barnaby ! take't for a warning,
Be no more drunk, nor dry in the morning."

In " A Londoner's Diary " (*Evening Standard*) of Sept. 11th, 1928, we learn that Lincoln had to pay a curious form of tribute to its larger neighbour, Brasenose. In the eighteenth century a Brasenose man was, so tradition runs, murdered by a gang of Lincoln undergraduates. Ever since a door between the two colleges is opened once a year, and never at any other time, and the whole of Brasenose may troop through it and demand a free and unlimited supply of ale of peculiar potency.

THE RADCLIFFE CAMERA AND LIBRARY: VIEW TAKEN FROM ST. MARY'S ENTRY.

(From a drawing by Ed. J. Burrow.)

THE MITRE TAVERN RE-OPENED NOV. 14, 1925.

An American Girl, July 21st, 1894.

"An ideal inn, where the globe-trotter may satisfy his inner man when his mind has imbibed great Oxford's knowledge."

"Mitre" Reflections.

THE PRETTY BAR-KEEPER OF "THE MITRE."

Written at College, 1741, by Mr. LUN.

"Relax, sweet girl, your wearied mind,
And to hear the poet talk,
Gentlest creature of your kind,
Lay aside your spunge and chalk;
Cease, cease the bar-bell, nor refuse
To hear the jingle of the Muse.

"Hear your numerous votries prayers,
Come, O come and bring with thee
Giddy whimsies, wanton airs,
And all love's soft artillery;
Smiles and throbs, and frowns, and tears,
With all the little hopes and fears."

She heard—she came—and e'er she spoke,
Not unravish'd you might see,
Her wanton eyes that wink'd the joke,
Ere her tongue could set it free.
While her forc'd blush her cheeks inflam'd,
And seem'd to say she was asham'd.

No handkerchief her bosom hid,
No tippet from our sight debars
Her heaving breasts with moles o'erspread,
Markt, little hemispheres, with stars;
While on them all our eyes we move,
Our eyes that meant immoderate love.

In every gesture, every air,
Th' imperfect lisp, the languid eye,
In every motion of the fair
We awkward imitators vie,
And forming our own from her face,
Strive to look pretty, as we gaze.

If e'er she sneez'd, the mimic crowd
Sneez'd too, and all their pipes laid down;
If she but stoopt, we lowly bow'd,
And sullen, if she 'gan to frown,
In solemn silence sat profound—
But did she laugh?—The laugh went round.

But hark! she cries, "my mamma calls,"
And straight, she's vanish'd from our sight;
'Twas then we saw the empty bowls,
'Twas then we first perceiv'd it night;
While all, sad synod, silent moan,
Both that she went—and went alone.

[*Taken from the "Student," or the Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany, Oxford, 1751.*]

LINES ON "THE MITRE" TAVERN.

After John Keats (1795-1821).

"Souls of poets dead and gone,
What Elysium have ye known,
Happy field or mossy cavern,
Choicer than "The Mitre" Tavern?
Have ye tippled drink more fine
Than mine host's Canary wine?
Or are fruits of Paradise
Sweeter than those dainty pies
Of venison? O generous food!
Drest as though bold Robin Hood
Would, with his maid Marian,
Sup and bowse from horn and can."

The Turl Room, Nov. 14th, 1925.

NIGGER PUG, OF OXFORD, XMAS, 1881.

To his Mistress, Miss Vaughan.

"I live at 'the Mitre,' my mug all love well,
So black to the eyebrows, all pugs I excel;
My little tail crooked to the tip you can see,
As we sit on the rug, both dear Blazer and me.
We gaze in the fire—that is, me and my chum,
Hunting woods swell dear Blazer, take Nigger Boy's fun;
But remember my lads for 'the Mitre's' bright cheer:
You must come to see Nigger Boy—all love so dear."

G.

"If you wish that your guests leave 'the Mitre' alive,
When they ask for a room, don't you give 'thirty-five,'
Lest the cats should half murder them during the night,
And the cocks in the morning should finish them quite!"

12*th July*, 1884.

"Esconsed, amid these ancient Halls of learning,
With memories rich of mental triumphs won,
Where sage, from sage of old great store of wisdom earning,
And knowledge nourishes each student as a son;
There stands the hoary hostelry as of old,
The strangers' flagging energies to restore,
Who, seeking nourishment, and shelter from the cold
Beneath "The Mitre's" roof finds this, and more."

8*th February*, 1890.

"Oh! Do you remember "The Mitre," Ben Bolt?
"The Mitre," that quaint old hotel;
We stayed there a day in the month of May—
One day, but we liked it full well.

And do you remember the tankards, Ben Bolt?
Two hundred years old if a day,
And the Salon, all told, was four hundred years old
Where we dined in that month of May."

1897.

" Wherever you direct your steps, wherever you turn your eyes, from the time and weather-worn facades of Christ Church College, to the advertisement in the *Bath Journal* of 1745 (a curiosity in " The Mitre " Smoking Room), everywhere, everywhere, you breathe the atmosphere of past ages.

What a labyrinth of recollections ! What a vastness for thought ! Wycliffe was a great man ; we are but dwarfs.

Your modern cities, with their numbered prosaic streets, their barracklike marble staircases, rabbit warrens, and stolid elevators, they are but mushroom creations compared to these noble masterpieces of architecture, the arduous labour of centuries, built up by generations of English genius, and upheld by English intelligence and endurance : one long chain of glorious traditions.

Oxford is, truly, a jewel of which England has a right to be proud of, and other nations a ground to be jealous of Oxford is one of the brightest glories of England."

PAUL R. DE LUXEMBOURG.

Easter Sunday, 1899.

DE MORTIUS.

Though the sun is shining brightly and the breezes blowing lightly
On the city of the pinnacles and towers,
Though the barges all are gleaming at the Isis swiftly streaming
And the meadows of the Cher are gay with flowers,
There's a melancholy mourning and funeral pyres are burning
In the centre of the Gyler and the High.
Oxford sport has been defeated and again the tale's repeated
As it passes to the Mitre Bar to die,
How *The Times* informed its readers in a most discursive leader
That the Oxford sporting temperature was low,
While *The Mail* and *Mirror* sadly said that it was doing badly
But the reason why they really did not know ;
How its heart was vivisected but no heart disease detected
By the writers of *The Morning Post* and *News*,
While *The Standard* knew no better than to print a longish letter
That expressed all Mr. Knox's different views ;
And by some it was suggested that its lungs were quite congested
By the scholars of America and Rhodes,
And its muscles all constricted by the sporting men addicted
To unmasculine, depraved, aesthetic modes.
They all talked of strange diseases such as measles, mumps and sneezes,
The result, they said, of getting rather stout,
But no papers were agreeing on a plan for really seeing
If the patient were as bad as they made out.
And now Oxford sport is lying, on a stretcher, some say dying,
And the doctors say that he's a fallen star ;
But while they are only thinking, why, the patient, he is drinking
Up new spirit in the famous Mitre Bar.

H.S.B.

From *The Isis*, May 4th, 1927.

THE SPORTS-GIRL'S EIGHTS' WEEK.

On Sunday I was kissed by Harry
At the Clarry.
On Monday I was held by Ruper-
t at the Super.
On Tuesday at the Randolph
I order Bill to take his hand olph.
On Wednesday I had a shock—
I was hugged by Steve in Iffley Lock.
On Thursday on the Pemme Barge
I was worshipped by a man called Jarge.
On Friday at St. ****'s
I entangled some Dons.
On Saturday at the Mitre
Chris embraced me—the blighter—
I don't know which of us was tighter
(I think he was, but I mighter).

. . . .

A bright week, but mighter been brighter.

From *The Isis*, June 9th, 1925. CRIPPEN.

Letter from Stephen de Cossington, undergraduate at Balliol College, to Thomas Felton, of the University of Cambridge.

VINCENT'S HOSTEL,
OXFORD,
March, 1823.

DEAR TOM,

We expect you next Saturday morning, and we are sending horses to meet you at Abingdon. On Saturday afternoon we have a supper at the *Mitre Hostel*, and on Sunday we will dine in College after High Mass, and sup at Gloucester with the Benedictines, who have an excellent after-supper cordial.

I am not able to give you any interesting river news, as an instrument called a watch, which a chap called Scott made for me to compare the times with, was broken to pieces by my scout. I foolishly left it on my table when I was changing, so I can only give you a little general criticism.

Merton are good in the stem, as far back as five, but after that not up to much. They have an excellent stroke and seven, both of them first-rate College oars, if not up to 'Varsity form. Five, three and four seem to be chiefly engaged in testing the strength of their front stops. However, we all know how Merton can race when it comes to the pinch. In the Gloucester boat you can see a fine example of what first-class coaching can do with a poor lot of men. If they had a real tearer to row five they would be well able to keep their place, but five is, I think, a weak point, a very weak point in their boat.

Branson is stroking badly, he washes out so, and bustles his men. I think we shall go up, we are short and ugly, but we all *plug*.

Don't forget to bring a rattle and a speaking-tube.

Goodbye, vieux Harricot,
Yrs. etc.
STEVE.

P.S.—I quite forget to tell you that the little Dago at bow, Allagers, we call him, his real name is something like Alligeary, is an honest worker, although his body form is not quite so good as that of—say Nickals.

"CAR CARGOES" OR "ARRIVALS AT THE 'MITRE.'"

With apologies to Mr. Masefield.

Limousine of luxury from gilded Mayfair
Sweeping up superbly with polished silver gleam,
With a cargo of soap-kings
And scent and ear-rings,
Llama-rugs, jewellery and French face cream.

Stately lofty laudaulette rolling from the counties
Drawing up majestically, with well-worn brakes,
With a cargo of footmen
And earls and countesses.
Grandpapas, grandmamas, and firm handshakes.

Racing-model eyesore, coloured like a sweetmeat,
Flashing down the High-street, spitting sharp short roars,
With a cargo of goggles
And scarves and greatcoats,
Felt hats, fog-horns and loud plus-fours.

From *The Harrovian*, Jan., 1929.

THE CONVIVIAL CRABS.

(*Adapted from verses written in* 1877.)

"There's a snug, small hotel,
That Bohemians know well,
For it's famed for its liquor, and comfort, and gloom;
While it often is quoted,
As tavern most noted,
By those who to knowledge of OXFORD presume.
Its wines are the neatest,
Its barmaids the sweetest,
Its weeds are the choicest of all that I know;
Its waiters most speedy,
And not over greedy,
In fact it's undoubtedly quite *comme il faut*.
Here sages of learning,
Teetotal views spurning,
Smoke pipes by the dozen, and sip pleasant punch;
While Welsh rarebits tasty,
And The MITRE's fam'd pasty,
Of nights you will notice the customers munch.

The floors are well sanded,
The whole place is branded
With comfort and ease to the traveller worn,
While pictures of parties
Of Thespian art is
The principal way which its walls they adorn.
In fact, it's admitted,
By quick and dull-witted,
The MITRE's the nicest of hostelries good,
For it stands out as first in
The eyes of those thirsting
For capital liquors, and beat it none could.

'Twas here that a party
Of good fellows hearty
On Saturday met at this pleasant old pub.
They made an endeavour,
Though not very clever,
To keep their wits bright thro' the aid of a club.
Altho' it seems trivial,
Their mood was convivial,
And so they adopted a comical name;
"'Twas one somewhat strange,
But they wanted a change,
And so the 'CONVIVIAL CRABS' rose to fame."

A number of names of taverns have been preserved in Larwood & Hotten's *History of Signboards*, under the title of "Signs of Love at Oxford," by an Inn-consolable Lover.

"She's as light as the *Grey-hound*—as fair as the *Angel*,
Her looks than the *Mitre* more sanctified are;
But she flies like the *Roebuck* and leaves me to range ill,
Still looking to her as my true Polar *Star*.
New Inn-ventions I try with new art to adore.
But my fate is, alas! to be voted a *Boar*.
My *Goats* I forsook to contemplate her charms,
And must own she is fit for our noble *Kings Arms*.
Now *Cross'd* and now *Jockey'd*, now sad, now elate,
The *Chequers* appear but a map of my fate.
I blush'd like a *Blue-Cur* to send her a *Pheasant*,
But she called me a *Turk* and rejected my present.
So I mop'd to the *Barley-Mow*, griev'd in my mind
That the *Ark* from the flood ever rescu'd mankind.
In my dreams *Lions* roar and the *Green Dragon* grins,
And friends rise in shape of the *Seven Deadly Sins*—
When I ogle the *Bells*, should I see her approach,
I skip like a *Nag*, and jump into the *Coach*.
She is crimson and white like a *Shoulder of Mutton*,
Not the red of the *Ox* was so bright when first put on.
Like the *Holly-bush* prickles she scratches my liver,
While I moan and die like a *Swan* by the river."

J.R.

THE MITRE BAR: Saying of the Week.

From *The Isis*, October 19th, 1927.

"We understand that the following reasons for proctorial interference in the Mitre Bar was given by One in Authority to a foreign nobleman who was wise enough to take his lunch there, and unfortunate enough to be progged for it:—

'Well, you see, Count ——, the real reason why we clear undergraduates out is this. You probably do not understand the class of persons who go to this place; quite common people, commercial travellers, you know. The company is so haphazard.'

The point, we would tell the world, is not that this is untrue, but that it is true—and why not?"

Unable to stay at "The Mitre,"

From *The Oxford Times*, 1926.

"James C—— (49), tramp, charged with wandering abroad and sleeping in a shed near Black Bridge, at 3.15 a.m. on Saturday morning, pleaded guilty 'if there is any guilt in it.'"

The Magistrates' Clerk: "That is for you to say."

P.C. Miller said C——, who had been "sleeping rough" for some time, had 8½d. in his possession.

C—— told the Court that he was an "old soldier" down on his luck, unemployed, and "without the means to stay at 'The Mitre' or in 'St. Thomas.'" (Laughter.) "I have no banking account. What was I to do?" he said, with dramatic emphasis.

The Chief Constable said, as the prisoner had been in custody for some time, perhaps the Magistrates would be prepared to take a certain view of the case.

The charge was dismissed on prisoner undertaking to leave the City.

N.B.—Many of the above "Reflections" have been taken from an old Visitors' Book of the 'nineties.

Odd Moments.

" The Mitre " Hotel was well known to the celebrated author, William Makepeace Thackeray, and on his arrival at Oxford, in 1857, to woo the suffrages of the " free and independent " voters, Thackeray went direct to " The Mitre," and addressed a " chosen few " in the Coffee Room (now the Smoke Room). The weather was warm, and the crowded room was oppressively hot. The windows were opened, and the blinds drawn, so that the presence of a " spy " from Cardwell's camp was undetected.

Having ideas that were considerably in advance of his time, Thackeray declared himself in favour of the opening of museums, picture galleries and similar institutions on Sunday. On the following day the Oxford hoardings were crowded with placards appealing to the electors not to support a man who was in favour of " desecrating the Sabbath." This alienated many Anglicans, and also the great majority of the Free Churchmen, and Thackeray was beaten in his election for Parliament.

Had the weather been cooler, the Coffee Room larger, or the window been kept closed, the result would have assuredly been otherwise, as Thackeray's informal talk at " The Mitre " was only intended for the " private consumption " of his principal supporters."

From *Good Stories from Oxford and Cambridge,* by T. Selby Henrey, we read :—" One night, a proctor, attended by his bulldog, met an undergraduate in the Turl, without cap and gown, and said : ' I am surprised at your disregard of rules, Sir ! What might your name be ? * ' Julius Caesar,' was the quick reply. ' What, Sir ! Do you mean to say your name is Julius Caesar ? ' ' Sir, you did not ask me what it is, but what it might be.' "

From the same source we learn that Dr. Aldrich, who was the architect of All Saints Church, was an inveterate smoker, and that " his pipe was his breakfast, dinner and supper. A student of the House, at ten o'clock one night, finding it difficult to persuade a ' freshman ' of the fact, laid

(* The question is now put : " Your name and College, sir.")

him a wager that the Dean was at that instant smoking. Away he hurried to the Deanery to decide the controversy, and on gaining admission apologised for the intrusion by relating the occasion of it. 'Well,' replied the Dean, in perfect good humour, with his pipe in his hand, 'you see you have lost your wager, for I am not smoking, but filling my pipe!'"

It is reported that the beer-taster of the eighteenth century would enter an inn unexpectedly, draw a glass of ale, pour it on a wooden bench, and sit down in the little puddle he had made. There he would sit for thirty minutes. He would converse, he would smoke, he would drink with all who asked him to, but he would be very careful not to change his position. At the end of the half-hour he would make as if to rise, and this was the test for the ale, for if it was impure, or had sugar in it, the taster's leathern breeches would stick fast to the bench.

The Americans who "do" Oxford in their European tour have often found the supply of walking guides inadequate. In former days they did not appear to realize the vastness of Oxford from a sight-seeing point of view, and even in these times endeavour to become acquainted with the Colleges and their gardens in one day, thus giving themselves a most confused idea of the relative beauties of the different Colleges; it is recorded that some years ago an American visitor wired to an hotel of the city, saying: "Lunch at one. Get keys of University for two o'clock."

Mr. George Belcher, two years ago, gave an excellent sketch in the pages of *Punch*, with the following characteristic conversation:—

> *Vicar* (*to new parishioner*): "I've just been on a visit to my son at Oxford, my old University. It seemed strange to be stopping at 'The Mitre.'"
>
> *Profiteer*: "Ah! the dear old *Alma Miter*."

From *Oxford Jests*, 1684, by Capt. William Hicks, we have a story which, it is believed, may have reference to All Saints Church and the adjacent Inn or Tavern, "The Mitre":—"An alehouse standing close to the Church. As the Vicar was preaching, he heard some Fellows quaffing in Ale there; Upon which, says he, 'Sirs, 'tis no reason that these Fellows should partake of our Prayers, and we not taste their Ale'; and so went out of the church, and all the people after him."

"One has often heard of a 'cellar-boy,' but it was not until the other evening that I heard of a 'collar-boy.' It would seem, according to my informant, that such a tactful and accommodating youth was often employed in the houses of the gentry of some decades ago, for the purpose of loosening the collars after dinner of gentlemen who had imbibed rather more well than wisely. Happily, nowadays, after even the most delirious of bump-suppers, such adventitious aids to the night's rest are rarely necessary."

—*The Isis*, Nov. 26th, 1924.

"THE PRAYER OF MARTHA THE KITCHEN MAID."

Lord of all pots and pans and things,
Since I've no time to be
A Saint by doing lovely things, or watching late with Thee.
Or dreaming in the dawnlight, or storming Heaven's Gates,
Make me a Saint of getting meals and washing plates.
Although I must have Martha's hands I have a Mary's mind,
And when I black the boots and shoes Thy sandals, Lord, I find;
I think of how they trod the Earth, what time I scrub the floor.
Accept this Meditation, Lord, I haven't time for more.
Forgive me all my worrying and make all grumbling cease,
Thou who didst love to give men food in Room or by the Sea,
Accept this Service that I do, for I do it unto Thee.

Caricature by *Robert Dighton* (January, 1808).

Mr. Tilleman Hodgkinson Bobart, Esquire—Bedel-in-Law, 1815.
Commoner of University College.

The Freshman:

From *The English Spy.*

(*by Bernard Blackmantle,* 1825.)

I had taken care to secure the box seat of the old Oxford, that on my approach I might enjoy an uninterrupted view of the classic turrets and lofty spires of sacred *Academus*. Contemplation had fixed his seal upon my young lips for the first ten miles of my journey. Abstracted and thoughtful, I had scarce turned my eye to admire the beauties of the surrounding scenery, or lent my ear to the busy hum of my fellow passengers' conversation, when a sudden action of the coach, which produced a sensation of alarm, first broke the gloomy mist that had encompassed me. After my fears had subsided, I inquired of the coachman what was the name of the place we had arrived at, and was answered, Henley.—"*Stony* Henley, Sir," said our driver: "you might have discovered that by the *bit of a shake* we just now experienced. I'll bet a *bullfinch** that you know the place well enough, *my young master*, before you've been two *terms* at Oxford." This familiarity of style struck me as deserving reprehension; but I reflected this classic Jehu was perhaps licensed by the light-hearted sons of *Alma Mater* in these liberties of speech. Suspending therefore my indignation, I proceeded: "And why so?" said I, inquisitively: "Why, I know when I was an *under graduate*† of ——, where my *father was Principal*, I used to keep a good *prad* here for a *bolt* to the *village*,‡ and then I had a fresh hack always on the road to help me back to *chapel prayers*."‖ The *nonchalance* of the speaker, and the easy indifference with which he alluded to his former situation

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* A sovereign.

† The circumstances here narrated are, unfortunately, too notorious to require further explanation: the *character*, drawn *from the life*, forms the vignette to this chapter.

‡ A cant phrase for a stolen run to the Metropolis. No unusual circumstance with a gay Oxonian, some of whom have been known to ride the same horse the whole distance and back again after Prayers, and before daylight the next morning.

‖ When (to use the Oxford phrase) *a man is confined to chapel*, or *compelled to attend chapel prayers*, it is a dangerous risk to be missing,—a severe *imposition* and sometimes *rustication* is sure to be the penalty.

in life, struck me with astonishment, and created a curiosity to know more of his adventures; he had, I found, brought himself to his present degradation by a passion for gaming and driving, which had usurped every just and moral feeling. His father, I have since learned, felt his conduct deeply, and had been dead some time. His venerable mother having advanced him all her remaining property, was now reduced to a dependence upon the benevolence of a few liberal-minded Oxford friends, and this son of the once celebrated head of —— College was now so lost to every sense of shame that he *preferred* the Oxford road to exhibit himself on in his new character of a *University whip.*

Immediately behind me on the roof of the vehicle sat a rosy-looking little gentleman, the rotundity of whose figure proclaimed him a man of some substance; he was habited in a suit of clerical mixture, with the true orthodox hat and rosette in front, the broadness of its brim serving to throw a fine mellow shadow over the upper part of a countenance which would have formed a choice study for the luxuriant pencil of some modern Rubens; the eyes were partially obscured in the deep recesses of an overhanging brow, and a high, fat cheek, and the whole figure brought to my recollection a representation I had somewhere seen of Silenus reproving his Bacchanals: the picture was the more striking by the contrasted subjects it was opposed to: on one side was a spare-looking stripling, of about the age of eighteen, with lank hair brushed smoothly over his forehead, and a demure, half-idiot-looking countenance, that seemed to catch what little expression it had from the reflections of its sire, for such I discovered was the ancient's affinity to this cadaverous importation from North Wales. The father, a Welsh rector of at least one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, was conveying his eldest born to the care of the Principal of Jesus, of which college the family of the Joneses§ had been a leading

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§ DAVID JONES, OR, WINE AND WORSTED.

HUGH MORGAN, cousin of that Hugh
Whose cousin was, the Lord knows who,
Was likewise, as the story runs,
Tenth cousin of one David Jones.
David, well stored with classic knowledge,
Was sent betimes to Jesus College;
Paternal bounty left him clear
For life one hundred pounds a year;
And Jones was deem'd another Crœsus
Among the Commoners of Jesus.
It boots not here to quote tradition
In proof of David's erudition;—
He could unfold the mystery high,
Of Paulo-posts, and verbs in μ;

name since the time of their great ancestor Hugh ap Price, son of Rees ap Rees, a wealthy burgess of Brecknock, who founded this college for the sole use of the sons of Cambria, in 1571. All these particulars I gleaned from the rapid delivery of the Welsh rector, who betrayed no little anxiety to discover if I was of the University; how long I had been matriculated; what was my opinion of the schools, and above all, if the same system of extravagance was pursued by the students and undergraduates. Too cautious to confess myself a *freshman*, I was therefore compelled to close the inquiry with a simple negative to his early questions, and an avowal of my ignorance in the last particular. The deficiency was, however, readily supplied by an old gentleman, who sat on the other side of the reverend Mr. Jones. I had taken him, in the first instance, for a doctor of laws, physic, or divinity, by the studied neatness of his dress, the powdered head, and ancient appendage of a *queue;* with a measured manner of delivery, joined to an affected solemnity of carriage and authoritative style. He knew everybody, from the Vice-Chancellor to the scout; ran through a long tirade against driving and drinking, which he described as the capital sins of the sons of *Alma Mater*, complimented the old rector on his choice of a college for his son, and concluded with lamenting the great extravagance of the young men of the present day, whose affection for *long* credit compelled honest tradesmen to make out *long* bills to meet the loss of interest they sustain by dunning and delay.

Scan Virgil, and, in mathematics,
Prove that straight lines were not quadratics.
All Oxford hail'd the youth's *ingressus*,
And wond'ring Welshmen cried "Cot pless us!"
It happen'd that his cousin Hugh
Through Oxford pass'd, to Cambria due,
And from his erudite relation
Receiv'd a written invitation.
Hugh to the college gate repair'd,
And ask'd for Jones;—the porter stared!
"Jones! Sir," quoth he, "discriminate:
Of Mr. Joneses there be eight."
"Ay, but 'tis David Jones," quoth Hugh;
Quoth porter, "We've six Davids too."
"Cot's flesh!" cries Morgan, "cease your mockings,
My David Jones wears worsted stockings!"
Quoth porter, "Which it is, Heaven knows,
For all the eight wear worsted hose."
"My Cot!" says Hugh, "I'm ask'd to dine
With cousin Jones, and quaff his wine."
"That one word 'wine' is worth a dozen,"
Quoth porter, "now I know your cousin;
The wine has stood you, Sir, in more stead
Than David, or the hose of worsted;
You'll find your friend at number nine—
We've but one Jones that quaffs his wine."

"An old *snyder*,"** whispered Jehu, "who was once Mayor of Oxford, and they do say was knighted by mistake,' 'a thing of *shreds* and *patches*,'

> 'Who, by short skirts and little capes,
> Items for buckram, twist, and tapes,'

has, in his time, *fine drawn* half the University; but having retired from the *seat* of trade, now seeks the *seat* of the Muses, and writes *fustian* rhymes and bellmen's odes at Christmas-time: a mere *clod*, but a great man with the corporation."

We had now arrived on the heights within a short distance of the city of Oxford, and I had the gratification for the first time to obtain a glance of sacred *Academus* peeping from between the elm groves in which she is embowered, to view those turrets which were to be the future scene of all my hopes and fears. Never shall I forget the sensations,

> "—— When first these glistening eyes survey'd
> Majestic Oxford's hundred towers display'd;
> And silver Isis rolling at her feet
> Adorn the sage's and the poet's seat:
> Saw Radcliffe's dome in classic beauty rear'd,
> And learning's stores in Bodley's pile revered;
> First view'd, with humble awe, the steps that stray'd
> Slow in the gloom of academic shade,
> Or framed in thought, with fancy's magic wand,
> Wise Bacon's arch; thy bower, fair Rosamond."

The view of the High Street is magnificent, and must impress the youthful mind with sentiments of awe and veneration. Its picturesque curve and expansive width, the noble assemblage of public and private edifices in all the pride of varied art, not rising in splendid uniformity, but producing an enchantingly varied *whole*, the entire perspective of which admits of no European rival—

> "The awful tow'rs which seem for science made;
> The solemn chapels, which to prayer invite,
> Whose storied windows shed a holy light—"

the colleges of Queen's and All Souls', with the churches of St. Mary and All Saints' on the northern side of the street, and the venerable front of University College on the south, present at every step objects for contemplation and delight. Whirling up this graceful curvature, we alighted at "The Mitre," an inn in the front of the High Street, inclining towards Carfax. A number of undergraduates in their *academicals* were posted round the door, or lounging on the opposite side, to watch the arrival of the coach, and amuse themselves with quizzing the passengers.

** A tailor. (Sir Edward Hitchings, Mayor in 1800, 1811 and 1821.)

"When first the freshman, bashful, blooming, young,
Blessings which here attend not handmaids long,
Assumes that cap, which franchises the man,
And feels beneath the gown dilate his span;
When he has stood with modest glance, shy fear,
And stiff-starch'd band before our prime vizier,
And sworn to articles he scarcely knew,
And forsworn doctrines to his creed all new;
Through fancy's painted glass he fondly sees
Monastic turrets, patriarchal trees,
The cloist'ral arches' awe-inspiring shade,
The High Street sonnetized by Wordsworth's jade,
His raptured view a paradise regards,
Nurseling of hope! he builds on paper cards."

SCENE OUTSIDE "THE MITRE."
(*English Spy*, 1825.)

Tom Peake, of "The Mitre."

From *The English Spy,*
(By Bernard Blackmantle, 1825.)

An Introduction :

On regaining my inn I was not a little surprised to hear the smirking barmaid announce me by my Christian and surname, directing the waiter to place candles for Mr. Bernard Blackmantle in the *sanctum.* How the deuce, thought I, have these people discovered my family nomenclature, or are we here under the same system of *espionage* as the puerile inhabitants of France, where every hotel-keeper, waiter, and servant, down to the very shoe-black, is a spy upon your actions, and a *creature* in the pay of the police ?* "Pray, waiter," said I, "why is this snug little *larium* designated the *sanctum?*" "Because it's *extra-proctorial,* Sir : none of the town *raff* are ever admitted into it, and the marshal and his *bull dogs* never think of intruding here. With your leave, Sir, I'll send in master : he will explain things better ; and mayhap, Sir, as you are *fresh,* he may give you a little useful information." "Do so ; send me in a bottle of old Madeira and two glasses, and tell your master I shall be happy to see him." In a few moments I was honoured with the company of mine host of "The Mitre," who, to do him justice, was a more humorous fellow than I had anticipated. Not quite so ceremonious as he of the Christopher at Eton, or the superlative of a Bond Street *restaurateur ;* but with an unembarrassed roughness, yet respectful demeanour, that partook more of the sturdy English farmer, or an old weather-beaten sportsman, than the picture I had figured to myself of the polished landlord of the principal inn in the sacred city of learning. . . . .

Master Peake was, I discovered, a fellow of infinite jest, an old fox-hunter, and a true sportsman ; and supposing me, from my introduction by Tom Echo to his house, to be as fond of a *good horse,* a *hard run,* and a *black bottle,* as my friend, he had eagerly sought an opportunity for this early introduction. "No man in the country, Sir," said Peake, "can boast of a *better horse or a better wife :* I always leave the management of the *bishop's cap* to the *petticoat ;* for look ye, Sir, *gown* against *gown* is the true orthodox system, I believe.—When I kept the *Blue Pig,** by the Town Hall, the *big wigs* used to *grunt* a little now and then about the

* The tact of the Oxford tradesmen in this particular is very ingenious. —The *strength* of a man's account is always regulated by the report they receive on his entering, from some college friend, respecting the wealth of his relations, or the weight of his expectancies.

gemmen of the University getting *bosky* in a *pig-sty ;* so, egad, I thought I would fix them at last, and removed here ; for I knew it would be deemed sacrilegious to attack the mitre, or hazard a pun upon the head of the Church. You'll excuse me, Sir, but as you are *fresh,* take care to avoid the *gulls :*† they fly about here in large flocks, I assure you, and do no little mischief at times." "I never understood that *gulls* were birds of prey," said I.—"Only in Oxford, Sir ; and here, I assure you, they bite like hawks, and pick many a poor young gentleman as bare before his three years are expired, as the crows would a dead sheep upon a common. Everything depends upon your obtaining an honest *scout,* and that's a sort of *haro ravis* (I think they call the bird) here." Suppressing my laughter at my host's Latinity, I thought this a fair opportunity to make some inquiries relative to this important officer in a college establishment.

"I suppose you know most of these *ambassadors* of the *togati* belonging to the different colleges ?'" "I think I do, Sir," said Peake, "if you mean the *scouts ;* but I never heard them called by that name before." "Pray, tell me, who is there at Brazennose that a young fellow can make a confidant of ?" "Why, the very best old fellow in the world,—nothing like him in Oxford,—rather *aged,* to be sure, but a *good one to go,* and a *rum one to look at ;*—I have known Mark Supple these fifty years, and never heard a gentleman give him a bad word : shall I send for him, Sir ? he's the very man to put you *up* to *a thing or two,* and *finish you off in prime style.*"

. . . . The conversation now turned to sporting varieties, by which I discovered mine host was a leading character in the neighbouring hunts. "We shall try your *mettle,* Sir," said he, "if we catch you out for a day's sport ; and if you are not quite *mounted* at present to your mind, I have always a spare nag in the stable for the use of a *freshman.*"

. . . . Though I did not relish the concluding appellation, coming from a tavern-keeper, I could not help thanking Peake for his liberal offer ; yet without any intention of risking my neck in a *steeple* chase. The interview had, however, been productive of some amusement and considerable information. The bottle was now nearly finished ; filling my last glass, I drank success to "The Mitre," promised to patronize the landlord, praise the hostess, coquet with the little cherry-cheek, chirping lass in the bar, and kiss as many of the chamber-maids as I could persuade to let me. Wishing mine host a good night, and ringing for my bed-candle, I proceeded to put the last part of my promise into immediate execution.

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* The Blue Boar (see p. 136), since shut up.

† *Gulls*—knowing ones who are always on the look out for freshmen

A College Scout.

From *The English Spy.*

(*by Bernard Blackmantle,* 1825.)

The next morning, early, while at breakfast, I received a visit from Mr. Mark Supple, the *scout,* of whom mine host of " The Mitre " had on the preceding night spoken so highly. He was somewhere about sixty years of age, of diminutive stature and spare habit, a lean brother with a scarlet countenance, impregnated with tints of many a varied hue, in which, however, the richness of the ruby and the soft purple of the ultramarine evidently predominated. His forehead was nearly flat; upon his eyebrows and over his *os frontis* and scalp a few straggling straight hairs were extended as an apology for a wig, but which was much more like a discarded crow's nest turned upside down. Immense black bushy eyebrows overhung a pair of the queerest looking *oculars* I had ever seen; below which sprung forth what had once been, no doubt, a nose, and perhaps in youth an elegant feature; but, Heaven help the wearer! it was now grown into such a strange form, and presented so many choice exuberances, that one might have supposed it was the original Bardolph's, and charged with the additional sins of every succeeding generation. The loss of his teeth had caused the other lip to retire inwards, and consequently the lower one projected forth, supported by a huge chin, like the basin or receiver round the crater of a volcano.

His costume was of a fashion admirably corresponding with his person. It might once have graced a Dean, or, perhaps, a Bishop, but it was evident the present wearer was not by when the *artiste* of the needle took his measure or instructions. Three men of Mark's bulk might very well have been buttoned up in the upper habiliment; and as for the *inexpressibles,* they hung round his *ultimatum* like the petticoat trowsers of a Dutch smuggler; then for the colour, it might once have been sable or a clerical mixture; but what with the powder which the collar bore evidence it had once been accustomed to, and the weather-beaten trials it had since undergone, it was quite impossible to specify. The *beaver* was in excellent keeping, *en suite,* except, perhaps, from the constant application of the hand to pay due respect to the

dignitaries, it was here and there enriched with some more shining qualities.

"The welcome of Isis to you, Sir," said the old man. "The *domini* of the *bishop's cap* here gave me a hint you wished to see me.—I have the honour to be Mark Supple, Sir, *senior scout* of Brazennose, and as well known to all the members of the University for the last fifty years as Magdalen bridge or old *Magnus Thomas*.

"You must have seen great changes here, Mark," said I; "were you always of Brazennose?" "I was born of Christ Church, Sir, *take notice*, where my father was college barber, and my mother a bedmaker; but the students of that period insisted upon it that I was so like to a certain old *big wig*, whose Christian name was Mark, that I most censoriously obtained the appellation from at least a hundred godfathers, to the no small annoyance of the dignitary, *take notice*. My first occupation, when a child, was carrying *billet doux* from the students of Christ Church to the tradesmen's daughters of Oxford, or the *nuns* of St. Clement's, where a less important personage might have excited suspicion and lost his situation. From a college *Mercury* I became a college *devil*, and was promoted to the chief situation in *glorio*,* alias *hell*, where I continued for some time a *shining* character, and *sharpened* the *edge* of many a *cutting thing*, *take notice*. Here, some wag having a design upon my reputation, put a large piece of cobbler's wax into the Dean's boots one morning, which so irritated the *big wig* that I was instantly *expelled college, discommoned, and blown up at point non plus, take notice*. Having saved a trifle, I now commenced stable-keeper, bought a few prime hacks, and mounted some of the best tandem *turn outs* in Oxford, *take notice:* but not having wherewithal to stand *tick*, and being much averse to *dunning*, I was soon *sold up*, and got a birth in Brazennose as college *scout*, where I have now been upwards of forty years, *take notice*. No gentleman ever could say old Mark Supple deceived him. I have run many risks for the *gown;* never cared for the *town;* always stuck up for my college, and never *telegraph'd* the *big wigs* in my life, *take notice*."

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* *Glorio.*—A place in Christ Church called the *scout's* pantry, where the boots and shoes and knives are cleaned, and a *small* quantity of Geneva, or Bill Holland's double, is daily consumed during Term time.

An Oxford Guide.

From *Peter Priggins, The Oxford Scout.*

J. T. J. Hewlett, 1841.

The pavement and Smoke Room window sills outside "The Mitre" have from the unknown past been the accustomed rendezvous of that familiar character known as the "Oxford Guide," and the following notes may be of interest to readers as representing in excellent words the appearance and the loquacity of one of these important personages of the period.

"On the following morning as he sat at breakfast, the head waiter, at the request of the 'gentleman in No. 1,' procured and introduced a specimen of that now nearly extinguished genius, an Oxford guide. The specimen was dressed, as all of his species were wont to be of yore, in a tutor's left-off coat and waistcoat, purchased of one of us scouts, and in drab knees and drab gaiters (*si hyems esset vel foret*—but without the continuations if the weather was warm), an unstarched and cable-like white tie, and a hat, which in these times of four-and-sixpenny ventilators, would be pronounced a shocking bad one."

With full appreciation of the glass of ale which was produced at once, the guide, who was nicknamed "Old Explicator," then explained the "way of seeing everything in a day" (a custom which by the way is often copied by our American visitors). After setting down his emptied mug, with an expression of satisfaction, a confused description of Oxford is rattled off, history and the various show-places and buildings being named with the briefest and most confused show of words possible.

The information regarding Oxford history possessed by the guides is wonderful. It is not however always correct, though probably, "familiarity breeding contempt" forces them after many years of training and practice, to become fluent, and in fact gives them almost complete confidence in the wonders of their knowledge.

In an old Oxford Guide book, dated about 1884, "the visitor is cautioned against employing persons who lurk in the vicinity of hotels and buildings of interest, pestering strangers to employ them as guides. *There are no authorized guides in Oxford*, persons representing themselves as such being idle, dissolute characters, having no real knowledge of the history of the city and its buildings, and who are, without exception, impudent and extortionate."

Tom Brown at Oxford, and at "The Mitre," 1861.

Mention is made of "The Mitre" on several occasions in *Tom Brown at Oxford*, and an excellent series of stories is drawn of University life in the Victorian period. Special comments are made on the value and quality of a bottle of Hock at "The Mitre," whilst in training for the Varsity Eights, or as an alternative a glass of sound sherry. Drysdale, Tom's friend, appears to have enjoyed this "all the more from the assurance which every glass gave him, that he was defying the coxwain, and doing just the thing he would most dislike."

In the same book a very familiar picture is given in the following notes on an eventful day in Varsity life :—

"On the morning after Commemoration, Oxford was in a bustle of departure. The play had been played, the long vacation had begun, and visitors and members seemed equally anxious to be off. At the gates of the colleges, groups of young men in travelling dresses waited for the coaches, omnibuses, dog-carts, and all manner of vehicles, which were to carry them to the Great Western Railway Station at Steventon, or elsewhere, to all points of the compass. (The railway to Oxford had not then been built.) Porters passed in and out with portmanteaus, gun-cases, and baggage of all kinds, which they piled outside the gates, or carried off to "The Mitre" or "The Angel" (since pulled down), under the vigorous and not too courteous orders of the owners. College servants flitted round the groups to take last instructions, and, if so might be, to extract the balance of extortionate bills out of their departing masters. Dog fanciers were there also, holding terriers ; and scouts from the cricketing grounds, with bats and pads under their arms ; and ostlers, and men from the boats, all on the same errand of getting the last shilling out of their patrons—a fawning, obsequious crowd, for the most part with, here and there a sturdy Briton who felt that he was only there for his due."

'Twas in '64 I first heard of Oxford town,
From reading the pages of lively *Tom Brown*.
Dear Tom, genial Drysdale, and sagacious old Jack's
Gone for ever, alas, they can never come back!
Oh, the charm of those pages when in walk and quadrangle
The Unders and Proctors had many a triangle.
(Du Maurier's *Old Latin*, with Trilby and Billy,
Was all well enough, but sometimes quite silly.)
And good clean Tom was a fine manly boy :
'Tis thousands just like him that make England's joy.
But the glory of Oxford and half its renown
Would be lost without "Mitre," its beautiful crown.
C. K. B., U.S.A.

September 4th, 1900. (*From "The Mitre" Visitors' Book*).

Oxford Ditties.

Ye BAR MAYDE
OF
Ye OLDE BLUE BOARE.

An Ancient Ballant.

Ye spruce and spunkie revellers of high or lowe degree,
Quick mix your ponche, compose your mugs, and listen unto me :—
A merrie tale I wis it be—a tale that hath no peers,
Soe let ye young be younkers *still*, ye *elders* lend their *ears !*

One Rosabelle, a Bar-Mayde, was (a virgin fayre to view)
Eke at ye Blue Boare *Senior ;* where cunninglie she drewe
Ye *stout* and *hale—choice spirits* too—from everie part about,
And wits run in to joke and drink, and let their wits run out !

Of womankinde ye fayrest she—yet cruell of her kinde,
And seem'd (tho' all eyes *look'd for her*) to all perfection blinde ;
Her prayses loude in rhymes were sung by all her loving slaves,
But she made them all a laughing stock—a *butt* of all their *staves !*

Quoth one (a wittie varlet he, and smilinglie he spoke,
For well loved he to crack his nuts, his bottle, and his joke)
" Thy sillie swaynes call thee a *Mayde*-some *tender sole* install thee,
" Yet I will prove, my bonnie lass, they nothing but *Miss*-call thee.

" For tho' they make their love a *fish*, in hopes more soon to net her,
" That sure might find some other name, that eke might suit her
better ;
" Now *I* (for thou are passing *fair*) *white-bait* would thee appell,
" Or hinting at thy station, lass, would call thee a—*Bar-belle* !

" Or, setting downe to write thy prayse, to win a crown of myrtell,
" Would name thee (for thy gentlenesse) my pretty little *turtle.*"
" Aye, soe the rich old miser calls me," quick replied ye belle,
" But he'll never have his turtle, 'till his turtle's in a *shell.*"

Now there was one (a likelie youth) who'd follow'd her for long,
She tryed his patience and his love, and mark'd him from the thronge ;
Quoth she : " For me he's waited long, and loves me tho' no prater,
" A bar-mayde needs must marry well who marries a good *waiter.*

Now when ye mayde was made a wyfe, it chanc'd upon a daye,
That self same wittie varlet came to chat an hour away :—
" A pot of beere, my pretty mayde," cried he, with merrie air,
" And let it be as mild as thee, and have a head as fayre ! "

Quoth Rosabelle, all smilinglie : " Dear Sir, I am a wyfe ! "
" A wyfe ! " cried he, in wide amaze—" Then farewell to this lyfe—
I did intend my heart and hand to offer you, my dear—
My heart is broke—I faint !—I die ! soe quick, and bring my *beere.*"

A. Crowquill's " Absurdities," 1827.

Note.—Thomas Peake who was " host " of the Mitre from 1815 to 1841 formerly kept the " Blue Boar " in St. Aldate's, near the Town Hall.

BURTON ALE.

An Ancient Oxford Ditty.

Of all the belles who Christ Church bless,
None's like the doctor's daughter;
Who hates affected squeamishness
Almost as much as *water*.

Unlike your modern dames, afraid
Of Bacchus's caresses;
She far exceeds the stoutest maid
Of excellent Queen Bess's.

Hers were the days, says she, good lack,
The days to drink and munch in;
When butts of Burton, tuns of sack,
Wash'd down an ox for luncheon.

Confound your *nimpy-pimpy* lass,
Who faints and fumes at liquor;
Give me the girl that takes her glass
Like Moses and the vicar.

True emblem of immortal ale,
So famed in British lingo;
Stout, heady, and a little *stale*—
Long live the Burton stingo!

THE "FRESHER."

Fragment of a song popular in Oxford about 1830.

"To Oxford, a Freshman so modest,
I entered one morning in March;
And the figure I cut was the oddest,
All spectacles, choker, and starch.
Whack fol lol, lol iddity, etc.

From the top of "the Royal Defiance,"
Jack Adams, who coaches so well,
Set me down in those regions of science,
In front of the "Mitre" Hotel.
Whack fol lol, lol iddity, etc.

'Sure never man's prospects were brighter,'
I said, as I jumped from my perch;
'So quickly arrived at the 'Mitre,'
'Oh, I'm sure to get on in the Church!'
Whack fol lol, lol iddity, etc.

I breakfasted twice with my Tutor
On stale bread and butter and tea,
And felt myself proud as a suitor
Enthroned on his mistress's knee.
Whack fol lol, lol iddity, etc.

At Woodstock, a dear little glover,
Attracted the course of my rides;
And if she liked me as a lover,
I loved her with fifty besides.
Whack fol lol, lol iddity, etc.

TOWNE AND GOWNE.

Bella Horrida Bella.

From *The English Spy*, (by Bernard Blackmantle, 1825).

A true chronicle of ye bloodie fighte betweene the Clerkes of and Scholars of Oxenforde and the Townsmen of the Citie, who were crowdinge rounde the Easterne Gaite to see the Kinge enter in his progress westwarde (August, 1605). (See page 76.)

Sir Clerke of Oxenforde, prepare
Your robis riche, and noble cheere.
Ye kinge with alle his courtlie trane
Is spurring on your plaice to gane.
And heere ye trumpet's merrie note,
His neare approache proclaims, I wote;
Ye doctors, proctors, scholairs, go,
And fore youre sovereigne bend ye lowe.
Now comes the kinge in grande arraie;
And the scholairs presse alonge the waye,
Till ye Easterne gaite was thronged so rounde,
That passage coulde no where be founde.
Then the sheriffe's men their upraised speares
Did plye about the people's eares.
And woe the day; the rabble route
Their speares did breake like glasse aboute.
Then the doctors, proctors, for the kinge,
Most lustilie for roome did singe,
But thoughe theye bawled out amaine,
No passage throughe the crowde coulde gane.
Ye Northern gownsmen, a bold race,
Now swore they'd quicklie free the plaice,
With stalwart gripe, and beadle's staffe
They clefte the townsmen's sculls in half.
And now the wrathful rabble rave,
And quick returne withe club and stave;
And heades righte learn'd in classic lore
Felt as they'd never felt before.
Now fierce and bloody growes the fraye:
In vaine the mayore and sheriffe praye
For peace—to cool the townsmen's ire,
Intreatie but impelles the fire.
Downe with the Towne! the scholairs cry;
Downe with the Gowne! the towne reply.
Loud rattle the caps of the clerkes in aire,
And the citizens many a sortie beare;
And many a churchman fought his waye,
Like a heroe in the bloodie fraye.
And one right portlie father slewe
Of rabble townsmen not a fewe.
And now 'mid the battle's strife and din
There came to the Easterne gate
The herald of our lorde the kinge,
With his merrie men all in state.
"God help us!" quote the courtlie childe,
"What means this noise within?
With joye the people have run wilde."
And so he peeped him in.

And throughe the wicker-gate he spied,
And marvelled much thereat,
The streets withe crimson current dyed,
And Towne and Gowne laide flat.
Then he called his merrie men aloud,
To bringe him a ladder straighte;
The trumpet sounds—the warlike crowde
In a moment forgot their hate.
Up rise the wounded, down theire arms
Both Towne and Gowne do lie;
The kinge's approache ye people charmes,
And alle looke merrilie.
For howe'er Towne and Gowne may fighte,
Yet both are true to ye kinge.
So on bothe may learning and honour lighte,
Let all men gailie singe.

The above imitation of the style of the ancient ballad is founded on traditional circumstances said to have occurred when the pacific King James visited Oxford (August, 1605). (BERNARD BLACKMANTLE.)

THE MARKET SLASHER.

(*Verses written in Oxford, circulated* 1858.)

In th' Maidenhead not long ago,
There lived a Man; a straper,
And he fell in love with a butter-Girl,
And they called Her the Market Slasher.

Now She sold eggs, and He sold Beer,
Which would relish with a rasher,
And over head and ears in love
Went He with this Market Slasher.
Doodle-dum, etc.

She wore no cap upon her head,
But a very dandy Bonnet.
He always would be at Her stall,
She couldn't keep Him from it.

So he to church this Slasher took,
Then brought Her home to flash Her,
When the people whisper'd at the Bar—
"Why! that's the Market Slasher!"
Doodle-Dum, etc.

Now, they made this cove a councillor,
He being a *Stable* scholar.
And soon for every Pound He owed,
He paid an American Dollar.

This man they sent to guard the Poor,
And he rated them a crasher.
So, still he's held in bad repute,
Though He married the Market Slasher.
Doodle-Dum, etc."

Extracts from "The Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green."

By CUTHBERT BEDE (Rev. E. Bradley, M.A.)

The following humorous episodes are extracted from the book on the Varsity life of this interesting Freshman :—

"He who approaches Oxford from the Henley Road and looks upon that unsurpassed prospect from Magdalen Bridge, or he who enters down the shady avenue of St. Giles', between St. John's College and the Taylor Buildings, and past the graceful Martyrs' Memorial, will receive impressions such as probably no other city in the world could convey.

"As the coach clattered down the Cornmarket and turned the corner by Carfax into High Street, Mr. Bouncer (who accompanied our 'hero'), having been compelled, in deference to University scruples, to lay aside his post-horn, was consoling himself by chanting the following words, selected probably in compliment to Mr. Verdant Green :—

"To Oxford, a Freshman so modest,
I enter'd one morning in March;
And the figure I cut was the oddest,
All spectacles, choker, and starch.
Whack fol lol, lol iddity, etc.

From the top of 'the Royal Defiance,'
Jack Adams, who coaches so well,
Set me down in those regions of science,
In front of the 'Mitre' Hotel.
Whack fol lol, lol iddity, etc.

'Sure never man's prospects were brighter,'
I said, as I jumped from my perch;
'So quickly arrived at the Mitre,
Oh, I'm sure to get on in the Church!'
Whack fol lol, lol iddity," etc.

"By the time Mr. Bouncer finished these words, the coach appropriately drew up at 'The Mitre,' and the passengers tumbled off amid a knot of gownsmen collected on the pavement to receive them. But no sooner were Mr. Green and our hero set down, than they were attacked by a horde of the 'aborigines' of Oxford, who, knowing by vulture-like sagacity the aspect of a Freshman and his governor, swooped down upon them in the guise of impromptu porters, and made

"THE MITRE" SMOKING ROOM

(*From a sketch by Walter Gandy*).

W.F.E. 28/6/97 :

"'The Mitre' of to-day is as charming as that of Tom Brown and Drysdale."

an indiscriminate attack upon the luggage. It was only by the display of the greatest presence of mind that Mr. Verdant Green recovered his effects, and prevented his canvas-covered boxes from being carried off in the wheelbarrows that were trundling off in all directions to the various colleges. But at last all were safely secured. And soon, when a snug dinner had been produced, Mr. Green, under its kindly influence, opened his heart to his son and gave him much advice as to his forthcoming University career: being, of course, well calculated to do this from his intimate acquaintance with the subject.

"Whether it was the extra glass of port, or whether it was the nature of his father's discourse, or whether it was the novelty of the situation, or whether it was all these circumstances combined, yet certain it was that Mr. Verdant Green's first night in Oxford was distinguished by a series, or rather confusion, of most remarkable dreams, in which bishops, archbishops and hobgoblins elbowed one another for precedence; a beneficent female crowned him with laurel, while Fame lustily proclaimed the honours he had received, and unrolled the class-list in which his name had first rank."

In Part III of this delightful book we read of Mr. Green being initiated into a mock Freemasonry, to the great relish of Mr. Bouncer and other "confederates." He was first introduced to its advantages in the course of a conversation which took place in the smoke-room of "The Mitre" (then the coffee-room), into which, it is stated, they had entered to "do bitters," as Mr. Bouncer phrased the act of drinking beer. Apparently the *apropos* tale inducing him to become a Mason was a thirsty one, as we further read that a "fresh supply of the bitter beverage had to be ordered and brought" whilst Mr. B. discoursed and "dangled his legs as usual from the table." An illustration of "The Mitre" smoke-room in which the conversation took place is given in Mr. "Bede's" book, the character of it now being little changed.

Extracts from "Dine-about Papers."

By GOURMET.

(*From "Fact," July 2nd,* 1881.)

"It was somewhat early in the 'forties that I, a fledgling, first entered that glorious hostelry 'The Mitre,' to witness the unedifying spectacle of the heir to an ancient baronetcy a trifle in his cups, though the sun was yet high in the autumn heaven. That was after the palmy days of 'Black Will,' the gentleman of colour, who was wont to tool the fastest coach in England to and from the Academic City between sunrise and sunset; nor can I boast another memory embalmed in the song that tells how

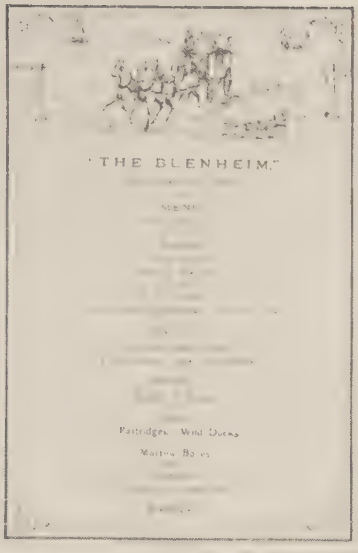
> "On the box of The Royal Defiance,
> Jack Adams, who coaches so well,
> Set me down in that region of science,
> In front of the Mitre Hotel."

A feat of charioteering which induced the Verdant Green of the period to boast that 'as he'd begun at "The Mitre," he was sure to get on in the Church.'

"My earliest recollection of Oxonian whips stops short at Wignell, Glover, and that grand old man, Colee, all of whom handled the ribands of the Cheltenham coach long after the railway whistle had blown off the road those hundreds of gay coaches that were wont to glorify the 'High' in the good old days.

"As a freshman, I knew but little of the Apician repasts indulged in by Tufts and gentlemen commoners, who considerately provided a band for the delectation of the 'High,' and hot coppers for the 'Gamins,' whose covetousness exceeded their respect for their fingers. . . .

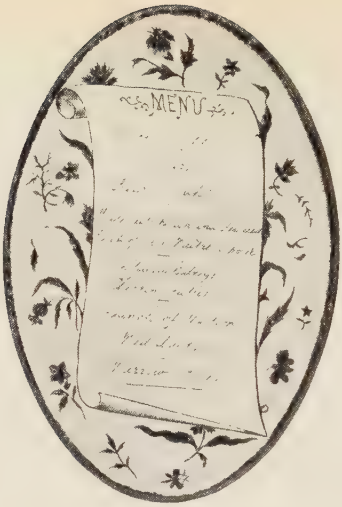
"To revert, however, to 'The Mitre,' then essentially a Varsity house. *Apropos,* we boys at 'The Mitre' were more proper, for the best of all possible reasons, because we dreaded the inroad of Ferriman, of All Souls, the good-humoured Proctor who used to wink with one eye, while he tried to look grave with the other. Or 'Brown Holland,' his colleague, who smole an evil smile as he sconced you a sovereign, and requested your presence in New College to pay that little sum the following morning.



The coaching Menu of "The Blenheim" coach. Cambridge to Cheltenham, Sept. 13th, 1879, showing the sign of "The Plough" at Cheltenham, and "The Mitre." at Oxford. (This was the occasion of the last run of Capt. Carlton Blythe's celebrated coach.)

"The Mitre" in the Eighties:

"The dear old 'Mitre' is as good as it ever was. There is a splendid 'chef' (the only man in the world who knows how to do marrow-bones), while Shepherd and Bishop are, as usual, to the fore. The Bollinger is lush fit for gods and men, Vivat Mitre College!"



ILLUSTRATIONS OF OLD "MITRE" HOTEL MENUS
(1879 and 1880).

"What feasts that we have eaten in after-days at the 'Bristol' or the 'Metropole' could be compared to the surreptitious feeds at 'The Mitre' when we began with champagne, went on with champagne, and then more champagne, until at last we reach the marrow-bones—the inevitable, the delicious marrow-bones! Sometimes we did get to the end of the menu; the bull-dogs would make a raid upon us, and then it was marrow-bones before the Proctor the next day."

" It was in front of ' The Mitre ' that someone of the Jacks-in-Office told handsome Lord Skelmersdale, now Lord Lathom, to put out his cigar ; and was met by the quiet rejoinder that if he could not enjoy the luxury of the ' herba nicotina ' he would take his name off the books—a consummation at once effected. And here, about that period, if you had dropped in, you would have found Lincoln, afterwards the ill-starred Duke of Newcastle, huge Johnny Malcolm, the two Fiennes, good fellows and good cricketers, Chandos Leigh, Jack Armitstead, or perhaps—who knows ?—Tom Brassey, or Codrington, of B.N.C.

" Christ Church and Oriel were in these days the chief patrons of ' The Mitre,' and I don't fancy the good old inn suffered much from proctorial interference.

" Greater days, however, were yet to dawn for this honest house. Does not Homer aphorise, ' As the generations of leaves, so are those of men ' ? A generation in Oxford lasts, be it known, but for four short years ; and he who lingers by the banks of Isis for five or six years gets to be eyed askance as a sort of academical Methusalah. Now it happened that the hard-reading generation which developed a double-first in the Marquis of Lothian passed away, to be succeeded by a rapider set. Hastings, he of the Marquisite, not the quiet young Dominus who now is known as Huntingdon, appeared on the scene like a comet ; whence followed Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, who rode well to hounds, but was kept in apple-pie order by General Bruce ; and soon after enter, if you please, His Grace of Hamilton and Brandon with poor Harrington.

" ' The Mitre ' then got very lively. You had to order a room for dinner several days in advance, and it required all the splendid tact of ' George ' to get the ' waiter-chaps ' to do their work. They gave you an excellent repast then, as also now—a batchelor's feed, mind you, fitted rather for Lucullus than Messalina, for the critical undergraduates' palate likes savouries and ' devils.'

" Here is a specimen menu :—

Asparagus Soup.
Salmon. Fried Eels. Filetted Soles.
Lobster Cutlets. Devilled Sweetbreads.
Spatchcock Fowl with Mushrooms.
Neck of Venison.
Marrow Bones on Toast.
Fondu of Cheese.

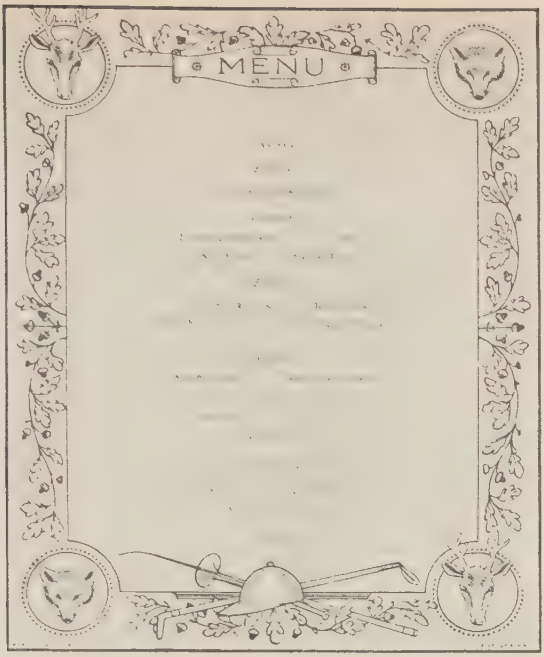
This probably was washed down with bitters, hock, sherry, moselle or champagne, claret, cups of some sort, curaçao, and port, the grand total being completed with coffee and anchovy toast, cigars, and perhaps a nip of cognac.

" A feed of this variety cost money, but it did not infringe upon the resources of such men as Hamilton or Harrington, the Brasseys, Tankerville, Chamberlayne, Tufton, or others easily named. The error was when Pluticulus tried to ape Plutus, when because a man wore a ' Bullingdon ' ribbon he found it incumbent upon him to plunge not only qua gastronomy but qua pasteboard. Certes, these ' Mitre ' dinners, moralising apart, were jovial affairs.

" You must not compare them with the twenty-four courses *de rigueur* at Greenwich, still less with the refined banquets of my friend Apicius, who cannot bring himself to believe that he has dined without an ortolan. Gastronomically, however, these repasts were by no means despicable. The proprietress never admitted into her larder or cellar any element of discord. You were never poisoned by made dishes concocted with imitation butter ; the meat was so magnificent that ' Mitre ' beef has become a proverb. Above all, as *Alma Mater* loves the vintages of Oporto, the Hotel was more than fortunate in buying up the cellar of a local brewer, named Morrell, on the decease of that connoisseur of Port. The Morrell Port of '47 and '51 has ere now been consumed, but in the bright days of the 'sixties it formed not the least of ' The Mitre ' attractions.

" To my mind, although the food is as excellent as ever, although the cuisine still preserves its reputation with Hutchings —erst of the Magdalen kitchen, as Chef, although there is no more comfortable house to lodge in within these four seas, ' The Mitre ' has never been quite the same since ' George ' took his departure.

" ' George ' was ubiquitous. If there were ten dinners in course simultaneously in ten separate rooms, this prince of head-waiters appeared to be in all at once. At the same nick of time, ' George ' was filling the glass of Mr. Jones, of Jesus ; assisting Mr. Adipose, of University, to his fifth helping of venison fat, and administering to the corporeal necessities of a rollicking member of the peerage. How he learnt to be everywhere I know not—probably in the school of experience. Anyhow, he managed the entire business. He ordered Lord Tomnoddy's dinner, and by a sort of miracle kept matters pleasant with the proctors. His successor was a remarkably good-looking youth, who, ' on dit,' had abandoned the dramatic profession for the less ambitious *role* of Ganymede. He was a thoroughly efficient waiter, and had he not supplied the place of ' George ' might fairly have been dubbed superlative. He, too, has deserted ' The Mitre,' and of the existing Staff I cannot speak with certainty, albeit they appear up to ' The Mitre ' average of later days.



ILLUSTRATIONS OF OLD "MITRE" HOTEL MENUS

Feede

served at ye Mitre Hostel,
Februarye ye Seconde, 1881.

ye Bille of Fayre.

Deliſhus byvalves founde at Whitſtable.

Soup mayde from ye animal of
ye Chelonia kinde.
Ditto named after ye famus battle.

A pinke fyſhe, ſerved wythe ye ſauce of ye
cruſtacean, whyche turns redde when boiled.
A bigge flat fyſhe, ſerved wythe ſauce after
ye Dutch faſhyon.
Ye livlee eel, ſtewed.

Olives mixt wythe ye fleſhe of ye ox.
Pancreas of calf, cookt currye faſhyone.
Slyces of veal, yclept "collops," ſerved
wythe freſh edyble fungi.
Lyttle paſties of ye lobſter.

Ye legge of a ſheepe, cookt in a pan wythe
water, ſerved up wythe ye ſauce of
ye caper.
Ye little wee piggee, roaſt.
Birdes, cither from ye coaſt of Guinea,
or worthe one.
Ye game of game, ye woodcocke.

Creem, flayvord wythe ye ſtrawberries.
Jelly. Melt in youre mouthes.
Paſties, filled wythe mince meate.

Ye ſmall fyſhes of ye herring kinde, but
more savoree, from ye Coaſt of Norway.
Ye lyttle ſhrympes served on toaſt.

After whyche we ſhall have our deſſertes,
whyche will conſiſte of nuts to cracke,
and divers froots.

ILLUSTRATION OF MENU OF A BANQUET HELD AT "THE MITRE," FEBRUARY 2, 1881.

" The old Inn, with its charming irregularity and rare cosiness, has held its own right bravely. It compares advantageously with the grandiose 'Randolph' and sublimated 'Star' (now the 'Clarendon'), and has outlived a really beautiful hotel of past days, 'The Angel.' It is clearly, too, a case of the survival of the fittest, for of all hostelries this has bid successfully for academical support solely by giving good money's worth for good money—an honest principle. Not vainly did an undergraduate of Swinburnian, agnostic, communistic proclivities prophesy that of all 'Mitres' this would last the longest. Without disrespect to the Bench of Bishops, I may pray that both species of 'Mitre' may continue, the one to comfort the souls, the other the bodies, of the 'Gentlemen of England.'"

A "Mitre" Tradecard of the Seventies.

Extracts from "Oxford to a Harvard Man."

(*From "Harvard Advocate,"* 189—.)

"What is written here is not meant to be a full account of Oxford, and the only excuse for this article is that possibly it may interest a student at Harvard to know somewhat the impression which the Old World University and its life leaves in comparison with our more modern College. I shall not attempt to go into any long description of the buildings of the two, but merely to show some few points that perhaps are not always touched on in Baedeker or Tourist Guides.

"Unless one drives to Oxford down the old coach road from London, the approach to the old city is commonplace and disappointing. The railroad enters it on the modern, uninteresting part, and the first idea of the city is that it is situated on a flat plain with few landscape beauties. But as I walked up the little incline into the City from the station, and as the older houses began to appear more and more, and little narrow streets leading off from the main street gave me a hasty glimpse of quaintly-roofed houses with oaken beams black and cracked, inserted in the brick walls, I realised that I was no longer in any modern town.

"One of the first buildings which stops the traveller's attention is the little low 'Mitre Hotel,' situated on the main street. The first step into this takes one upon historic ground. The low rooms, the great beams in the ceilings, the open court with its old cracked flagging and its gnarled trees growing up from the stones and trailing up the walls of the inn, the curious old kitchen leading off the main hall, with its ancient spits and cooking arrangements, prepare you; so that you are not surprised when they tell you, as they are proud of doing, that this inn was established in the year 1400.

"As for the rooms upstairs, there is such a maze of passage-ways and old chambers that one almost needs a guide-book to find his way about the house.

"Here started and stopped all the gay young Oxford 'whips.' Here in the cosy little dining-rooms upstairs (now the drawing-rooms), with their small, flower-frilled windows,

looking out on the irregular street, the Oxford dinners and suppers have been held for generations—Parker's and Billy Park's combined. Such a reputation for its dinners this inn has had, and still has, that students are forbidden by the rules of most of the Colleges to dine here. Proctors are sent to explore the dining-rooms several nights a week, to make a raid on unwary lovers of good eating. Some who have read *Verdant Green* will recall that he used to boast that as he had "begun at 'The Mitre' he was sure to get on in the church. . . . . ."

A FAMILIAR FIGURE AT THE "MITRE," OXFORD (from 1905——)

(*Lea and Perrin's Advt.*)

A. R. Cluer and Frank Harris, August, 1889:

"The Head Waiter of 'The Mitre' ought to be as famous as Bardolph, and Sam Weller had not a more excellent humour than the 'boots.' This eulogy is the consequence of pleasant slumber and a good breakfast."

"A Visit to Oxford."

Extract from the Diary of Mr. A. P. Smith, by Lieut.-Col. Newnham-Davis.

September 15th, 1900.—"When Mr. Horner made his choice of the university town as the place where we should spend our week-end, the Colonel gave a long whistle. 'Aristides, my boy,' he said to me later, 'we are in for it now. Jimmy is a don or something of the sort in the place, and drinks port and talks clever with other dismal roosters like himself, and he knows all about every Saxon and Norman and Stuart who has ever put his nose inside the place.' . . We settled on 'The Mitre,' chiefly for the sake of old associations; for the old hostelry, with its bed-rooms, in which the floor rises like a wave over the supporting beam, the chintz blinds, the old oak panelling and the massive balustrades, the flowers and the cool semi-darkness, are in perfect keeping with Oxford, the sleepy Oxford of the long vacation.

"The train took us down from Paddington in an hour and eighteen minutes. The line touches the great river at intervals. We looked down on the eyot and the eel-traps and the lawns of the riverside club below the grey bridge at Maidenhead, sighted the stream again at Reading, where it flows between formal poplar-studded banks, and saw the silver of the river at Pangbourne, where the majestic woods sweep down and dip their leafy skirts in the stream, and at last the grey towers of Oxford glided into view, a splendid apparition more like the cities Tennyson sang of in his *Idylls of the King*, than any other town in the world.

"We drove up to the hotel, and as we went Mr. Horner bade us mark the mound to the right, which King Eadweard raised as a fortress against the Norse pirates, and would have told us much besides about St. Martin's church, the church at Carfax, the meeting of the four ways; how it used to be held as a castle by the townspeople, who from it shot arrows against the students, but that our fly drew up at the door of 'The Mitre,' and the faces of the head waiter and manageress both wreathed into smiles at the sight of Mr. Horner."

"The hour before lunch we spent in the Radcliffe Library, looked at the domed hall in which the allied sovereigns dined in 1814, and then climbed to the gallery, from which a splendid view of Oxford lies like a map below, and marked the perfect contrast of the grey stone pinnacles and spires and towers with the luxuriant green setting of trees which girds the loyal city. . . ."

Notes by Stephen Leacock.

(" *Morning Post*," *April*, 1922.)

" To my mind, judgments about our great Colleges do harm, and I determined, therefore, that anything I said about Oxford should be the product of actual observation and real study based upon a bona-fide residence in the Mitre Hotel. . . . Whether we like it or not, Oxford gives something to its students, a life and a mode of thought, which in America as yet we can emulate but not equal. If anyone doubts this, let him go and take a room at the Mitre Hotel (a wainscotted bedroom, period of Charles I) and study the place for himself.

" The singular results achieved at Oxford are all the more surprising when one considers the distressing conditions under which the students work. The lack of an adequate building fund compels them to go on working in the same old buildings which they have had for centuries. The buildings at Wadham College have not been renewed since the year 1605. In Merton and Magdalen the students are still housed in the old buildings erected in the XIVth Century. At Christ Church, I was shown a kitchen which had been built at the expense of Cardinal Wolsey in 1525. Incredible though it may seem, they have still no other place to cook in than this, and are compelled to use it to-day. On the day when I saw the kitchen, four cooks were busy roasting an ox whole, for the students' lunch. This at least is what I presumed they were doing from the size of the fireplace used ; but it may not have been an ox, perhaps it was only a cow. On a huge table, twelve feet by six, and made of slabs of wood, five inches thick, two other cooks were rolling out a game pie. I estimated it measuring three feet across. In this rude way, unchanged since the time of Henry VIII, the unhappy Oxford students are fed. I could not help contrasting it with the cosy little boarding-houses on Cottage Grove-avenue, where I used to eat when I was a student at Chicago, or the charming little basement dining-rooms of the students' boarding-houses in Toronto. But then, of course, Henry VIII never lived in Toronto. . . . But Henry VIII being dead, nothing was done. Yet, in spite of its dilapidated buildings and its lack of fire-escapes, ventilation, sanitation, and up-to-date kitchen facilities, I persist in my assertion that I believe that Oxford, in its way, is the greatest University in the world."

Jack Hulbert, His Page.

[From *The Isis*, December 6th, 1922.]

My Impressions of Oxford (at "The Mitre").

"I love Oxford. I must be quite frank. I love antiquity. Anything old delights me.

"I am staying at a beautiful old fourteenth-century inn. How antique and picturesque! There are thirty-nine different passages leading to my room, and each passage has a small staircase. It takes exactly half-an-hour to reach it from the street. A man with intelligence would do it in fifteen minutes.

"All the floors are on the slant—in fact, I notice this is the case in many of the houses in Oxford. The gradient of the floor of my room is about 1 in 8. If I walk from the window to the door I am dragged towards the wall by the force of gravity, just as a stone rolls with increasing speed down a hill. I saw a sweet old lady of seventy-five, with silver-grey hair, finish her coffee and literally stagger across the drawing-room, endeavouring to reach a paper from a table, and giving up the struggle in dismay, and then ringing for the waiter to fetch it for her. I felt sorry for her, because it is apt to give the wrong impression.

"The proprietor of the inn has enlarged the premises by taking in another building, and my room is the partition between the two outer walls. It is also very low. I have to lean out of the window to put my shirt on. Anything old delights me.

"The walls are covered with old oak panelling—full of secret cupboards. But it smacks of the good old days, with Queen Elizabeth and her radiant beauty—or not, as the case may be. . . . .

"I slept little that night, as I lay at the extreme edge of the bed, having rolled to the side on account of the tilt. I gave vent to my imagination and conjured up pictures of the past. I thought how magnificent Drake must have looked, centuries back, as he passed through Oxford, telling the inhabitants of the advance of the Young Pretender from Scotland on his march to Derby. How beautiful, too, to think that John, before signing Magna Charta, had breakfasted with Warwick, the King-Maker, near the Martyrs' Memorial. I love history. I'm glad I took it at Cambridge: it is so nice to look back on.

"As I strolled along 'The High' yesterday my wife remarked: 'I don't like Oxford so much as Cambridge,' 'Neither do I like Cambridge so much as Oxford,' I replied, as two big B.N.C. men bumped into me as they swung out of College. . . .

" I feel that the main difference between an Oxford man and a Cambridge man is that the Oxford man wears a gown as if it belonged to him, and a Cambridge man wears it as if he didn't care who it belonged to. I love the Sound of your bells. I love the chimes and the peals : it's so nice when they leave off.

" I went down to the river and saw some Eights practising yesterday afternoon. I was thrilled. The splash of the oars, the noise of the blades going in one after the other, made my heart bound within me. The men were working hard, but the boat seemed to be drifting in the opposite direction ; I understand the stream is very strong. We don't get this on the Cam. We row in treacle—horrible if you fall in. I saw ' 3 ' in one boat bite ' 4 ' in the back of the neck, just under the left ear, but not until they'd ' easied '—such is the discipline maintained—the reason of the onslaught being that ' 4 ' would swing out of the boat a trifle on the slant, making it roll badly. He must have slipped to that side of the bed the night before. It must have been very hard for Oxford men to swing straight, I thought, as I walked forward, still inclined to stagger a little myself, having that morning taken over half-an-hour to find my way through the sloping passages to reach the street from my room.

" Just then I caught sight of the Varsity boat. But only a fleeting glance—they went by so quickly. I got a bike and rushed after them. They easied. I easied, too, falling on the leg nearest the edge of the bank and nearly falling into the river, because the bike was too near the water. They paddled again. Eight blades gripped the water at the beginning of the stroke and behind the riggers. They all came through in one piece : the crew swung back as one man. ' Seven ' made rowing look mere child's play. The boat shot forward, and the little ripples were sent to the banks in a small wash. They were going well. The boat was moving splendidly between the strokes. They should make a fine crew. I can speak with authority, not having rowed for ten years.

" And now that I am in Oxford I think of Cambridge and all its associations and memories of happy days. It is with mixed feelings of joy and sadness that I think of the past, never to return. But the old place can be re-visited : the dear old *Alma Mater* stands just the same, and the dear old memories will never be forgotten. Cambridge is dearer to me than any other place on earth.

" My impression of Oxford is just this, that I think in every respect it is altogether a most delightful place, which I might have said at the beginning, and so saved you a lot of trouble."

JACK HULBERT.

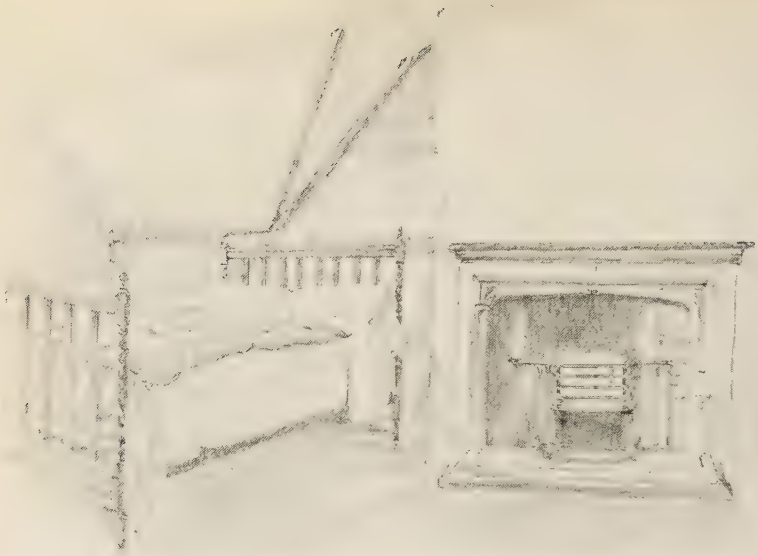
"The Mitre" of the Present Day.

The building as it now stands claims our attention. Whilst the major portion of the structure of "the Mitre" dates from the 13th century, and much of the original building still remains the finely proportioned elevation facing the internal courtyard, with its heavy overhanging storeys and three gables of ample proportions, dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the date 1631 being carved on the bracket beneath the window of the east gable. The fine panelling and staircases and ornamental ceilings in this portion of the house show that it was finished in an elaborate style. Agas's Map of Oxford in 1578, engraved in 1588, one of the most detailed maps of Oxford existing, shows that 'the Mitre' then had a straight gabled roof across its frontage, a courtyard or garden at the rear of the main building and other outhouses and buildings in the Turl and on the North side, and the Oxford Historical Society's books inform us that at that time the frontage extended about 75 feet. In Loggan's Map of Oxford of 1675 a frontage is shown of five gabled roofs facing the High Street, whilst from an old notice of the Sale of the Lease of the property in 1803 we are informed that the present frontage of the inn was again altered, and the Inn had "recently been refronted."

As one gathers from the Rev. H. E. Salter's history, given in the chapter "Inter Muros," the frontages of the whole of the portion of the High Street now occupied by "The Mitre" and other properties, *i.e.*, from Carfax to The Turl, were, prior to the eighteenth century, set back approximately in line with the inner or north wall of the present drawing-room of the Hotel, the portion thus secured having in medieval times been occupied by the booths or tenements owned by the various Colleges, Trade Guilds, and others. In the drawing-room, during recent renovation work, a wall of considerable thickness was discovered, consisting of stone and rubble (possibly of thirteenth-century origin). One portion of this wall contained a recess of some depth and height which may have been intended for use either as a cupboard or was used as a hiding-place for the "recusants" in the troublous times of the seventeenth century, to which references are made in another chapter.

In 1927, when structural repairs were being made on the gabled rooms in the rear of the Hotel, several of the old lattice and leaded windows of the early seventeenth century were

"THE MITRE" OF THE PRESENT DAY.



AN OLD FIREPLACE IN "THE MITRE"
(With original moulded oak curb).

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BEDROOM IN "THE MITRE."

discovered, these being covered with plaster both on the interior and exterior. In some cases they were of too fragile a nature to preserve but some of them were in remarkable preservation. These were carefully cleaned and fronted with glass for their protection and are now to be seen in Nos. 19, 20 and 21 rooms, whilst in one of the rooms the original latch fastening is preserved intact.

The Hotel, had remained practically unaltered from the end of the eighteenth century until the year 1922, when it was found necessary to carry out alterations to maintain the structure and to adapt the building for more modern hotel requirements. The alterations, however, have been very carefully carried out under skilful supervision, and all interesting features of the seventeenth century building and earlier portions have been maintained, including the interesting thirteenth-century wall of stone and rubble which is now shown with the timber-work ceiling and the original stone fireplace in No. 10 room. The latter was discovered in almost perfect condition during repairs in 1927, and at the same time a discovery was made of the name of the room " The Castle Room," the lettering being hidden beneath the paint of many years.

Extensions to the Dining Room have, in the last few years, been carried out in similar panelling and character as the original work, the twentieth-century fireplaces being replaced by others in character with the architectural features of the period. This extension to the Dining Room was formerly known as the " Christ Church " Room, on account of its having been frequently used as a private dining-room by members of " The House," as that College is termed. The late King Edward, with numerous other celebrities, have made use of this room on many occasions during their terms at the University. Further extensions have recently been made to the Dining Rooms, and a handsome room of ample proportions had been formed in the seventeenth-century portion of the Hotel in Turl Street. This room has recently been christened " The Old Berkeley " Room, in honour of the revival of the Oxford coaching season, after a lapse of seventeen years, when the well-known Oxford coach of Capt. Bertram W. Mills and Mr. Claud Goddard was first run from " The Berkeley " Hotel, in Piccadilly, to " The Mitre " (September 1st, 1928). On this occasion " The Mitre " gave a special banquet to the guests, in celebration of the event. The decoration in this room has been carried out in the style of the period, copied from panelling in other parts of the Hotel, whilst the decorated plaster work of the ceiling is a reproduction of one now to be seen in Bishop King's Palace in St. Aldate's.* Similar fine

* Bishop King, last Abbot of Osney, first Bishop of Oxford (1542), died December 4th, 1557.

panelling and ornamental ceilings and plaster work of the seventeenth century can be seen in many of the bedrooms, and several of these also have the old fireplace surrounds and timbered ceilings, etc., of that century, whilst one of them still retains the unusual feature of the original moulded oak curb, with an old fireplace of later date.

In February, 1929, whilst preparing for re-decorating the Reading Room on the first floor, a magnificent stone fireplace of the sixteenth century was discovered, together with three old windows. All these features have now been incorporated in the new panelling of the room, which has been copied from genuine panelling existing in No. 11 bedroom and in other rooms of the Hotel. The walls of this room are some three feet thick, and, no doubt, formed the front wall of the original building, erected more than seven centuries ago.

The bay windows in the front form an interesting item to the Drawing Rooms, and give fine vistas up and down the High Street.

The Hotel contains a number of good specimen pieces of furniture, including a fine carved wood pedestal with gilded decoration of the William and Mary period. This piece was obtained some time ago from the Chapel of New College, and is in a fine state of preservation. There is a long serving-table in the Dining Room, probably also of that period, and in other parts of the house are old chests of an early character. A very handsome and fine Sheraton sideboard is shown in the Drawing Room with other pieces of the eighteenth century, whilst in that room is also a very interesting and quaint Papier-maché chair, heavily decorated and inlaid with mother-of-pearl in the well-known early nineteenth century style.

The corridors contain a large collection of lithographs of numerous Colleges and buildings in Oxford, by Delamotte and others, whilst there are also several valuable old prints and plate engravings distributed on the stairways, including two coloured engravings of the High Street and of Carfax, dating from the middle of the seventeenth century, by J. Donowell, Architect, which are shown opposite pages 45 and 54. These prints are illustrated in the well-known book by Joseph Skelton, entitled *Oxonia antiqua restaurata*, which he published in 1823, The book is fully illustrated with rich engravings of the buildings and antiquities of Oxford, and also illustrates the well-known head-pieces of the *Oxford Calendar*. In this work reference is made to these two plates above mentioned, from one of which we give the following extract :—" The view illustrates the High Street from St. Mary's Church in an early period, prior to 1765, when numerous signs projected from the houses, and prior to the removal of the Conduit from Carfax. . . On the right of the print is the sign of the

PART OF THE DRAWING ROOM AT "THE MITRE" HOTEL
(Overlooking the High Street.)

A BEDROOM IN THE "MITRE HOTEL."

C. A. A., Liverpool. 1889:
"As an experienced traveller (having taken a fortnight's holiday from the care of amassing an enormous fortune!) I cheerfully place my experience at the disposal of other searchers after rest and pleasure: go to the old towns and stop at hotels like the good old 'Mitre.'"

THE "OLD BERKELEY" ROOM, OPENED IN 1923.

A CORNER OF THE GEORGIAN DINING ROOM AT THE "MITRE" HOTEL.

J. E. Ward, Canada, Sept. 2nd, 1899, and Sept. 2nd, 1900

"It is usually perilous to re-visit places where one has been happy. The memory is wont to be sweeter than the repetition of experience but Oxford and 'The Mitre' bear re-visiting, as I have proved."

' Old Coach Office,' on the left is that of ' King's Coffee House,' . . above which, on the same side, is the sign of the ' King's Arms Tavern,' being the house belonging to Wyatt, the carver and gilder : and above that, the sign of the ' Bear Inn.' The signs of the old-established inns, the ' Mitre ' and the ' Chequer,' may be noticed amongst others here represented." We might also add that just above " The Mitre " in this print can be seen the signboard of another inn, which was known as the " King's Head " about the year 1700.

The heavy oaken doors at the entrance to the Hotel were probably in existence from the period of the upper portions of the present building. These doors are heavily marked and grooved from the axles of the numerous coaches which frequently passed through the archway or entrance to the old stables and coachhouses in the rear of the premises, and during the structural alterations to the building, it was discovered that the old kitchen, which until recently was situated behind the Offices, bore distinct evidence of its having been used as some portion of the coachhouses.

" The Mitre " has coaching associations of over 250 years, and so far back as 1671 coaches commenced running between London and " The Mitre," on three days weekly, and frequent revivals have taken place, even up to 1929. The writer has recently published a book dealing with Oxford Coaching History and Celebrities, entitled *Coaching in Oxford and at " The Mitre."* This book gives full details of the numerous coaches which used to put down passengers at the doors, also a number of interesting illustrations with episodes on the Road. This should appeal to those who have vivid recollections of the days in which they lived before these days of rapid transit, " when people lived in their own parishes, and a journey by coach was an adventure, with romance lurking at the cross-roads and under the trees which lined the highway ; when life was simple and leisurely, and perhaps more worth while."

The stairways and ballustrades in the Hotel are also of the old school, and of oak, of the early seventeenth century, and no doubt the various levels and passage-ways, recesses and landings, in the front portion of the building, will appeal to many of the visitors who are interested in work of the early periods.

Unfortunately, owing to further extensions being necessary in 1926, the old stables in the rear of the Hotel were pulled down to make room for a New Wing, whilst the Mitre Tavern, or " Turl Room," and new Billiard Rooms were added, the former being carefully constructed and decorated with panelling and timber-work of the seventeenth century character, incorporating in the construction the interesting relic of one

of the original stable-walls, with timber framing and plaster-work. The Tavern contains a number of objects of the Oxford coaching days, including the coach horn in its wicker case, the horse-spreaders, coach lamps and two old brass tobacco boxes in the form of automatic slot machines, such as are still to be found in a few of the old coaching inns, the box-lid being released by a spring.

Among further items of interest which have recently been discovered are two leases, dated 1744 and 1785, the former of which bears the original seal of the Corporation of Oxford. These are now framed, and exhibited in the Dining Rooms. Unfortunately, space does not permit of their being given in full, but the following brief extracts from the earlier lease may be of interest :—

" THIS INDENTURE made the Tenth day of October " in the Eighteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign " Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great " Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith " and so forth 1744 Between the Mayor Bailiffs and " Commonalty of the City of Oxford in the County of " Oxon of the one part and John Lewell of the City of " Oxon Grocer of the other part WITNESSETH that " the said Mayor Bailiffs and Commonalty of their assent " and consent for divers good Causes and Considerations " then thereunto moving HAVE demised granted and " to Farm Letten . . . ALL that Void or wast " Ground in the Street adjoining to the East part of a " Messuage or Tenement situate and being in the Parish " of All Saints . . . together with their Vault or " Arched Cellar . . . under so much of the High " Street of the said City as lyeth . . . between the " said Messuage or Tenem^t and the Gutter or Channel " there. . . . TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the " said void ground and Vault or Arched Sellar with the " appurtenances . . . YIELDING and paying there-" fore yearly during the said term unto the said Mayor " Bailiffs and Commonalty their Successors and Assigns " by the hands of the Chamberlains of the said City for " the time being att or in the Guildhall of the said City " the rent or sume of Five Shillings of lawfull money " of Great Britain . . . by Even and equal portions " AND also yielding and paying therefore Yearly during " the said term unto the Mayor of the said City for the " time being One Couple of good fat Pullets or Two " Shillings in money on the Tenth day of June," etc.

This Lease probably has reference to " The Mitre " Hotel premises now occupied by the Dining Rooms, and portions of the Cellars or Vaults which extend beneath the High Street,

to which reference is made in the chapter on the Crypt of "The Mitre." The other Lease, dated 1785, is from the Corporation of Oxford to Mr. Richard Williams, and is couched in similar terms.

Other rooms contain various framed old Notices, etc., relating to the Hotel, including two of the eighteenth century, advertising meals served in the inn for those who visited Oxford for the local Race Meetings on Port Meadow, and among a parcel of old newspapers a recent discovery was made of two old Notices, dated 1803, relating to the sale of the lease of the "Mitre Inn," with details of the property for disposal, etc.

It may be interesting to record that some forty years ago "The Mitre" was selected by the booksellers who attended the various book sales at Oxford, and they were accustomed for some period to make the Hotel their headquarters and to participate in a "High Tea" after they had completed their "settlements," whilst the *Oxford Journal* of March, 1816, made the following announcement:—"To the Oxfordshire Tanners: A Meeting of the Oxfordshire Tanners will be holden at the 'Mitre' Inn, Oxford, on Monday next, the 1st of April, at Twelve o'clock, for the purpose of considering the propriety of petitioning Parliament for a Repeal of the Additional Duty on Leather. GEORGE CECIL, Secretary. Oxford, March 30th, 1816."

We think, in conclusion, that few old hostelries can boast such wealth of all that is picturesque and historic as may be found within "the Mitre," and we are fain to believe with Hawthorne, who visited Oxford in 1856 (August 31st—Sept. 9th), that "it is a despair to see such a place and ever to leave it; for it would take a lifetime, and more than one, to comprehend and enjoy it satisfactorily."

"Ensconsed, amid these ancient Halls of learning,
With memories rich of mental triumphs won,
Where sage, from sage of old great store of wisdom earning,
And knowledge nourishes each student as a son;
There stands the hoary hostelry as of old,
The strangers' flagging energies to restore,
Who, seeking nourishment, and shelter from the cold,
Beneath 'The Mitre's' roof, finds this, and more."

—J. SCOTT KERR, Glasgow.

8th February, '90.

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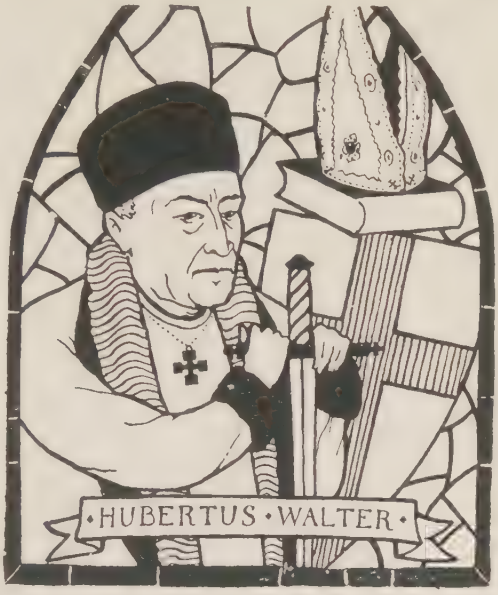

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